

A GRAMMAR OF CLASSICAL ARABIC

WOLFDIETRICH
FISCHER

THIRD REVISED EDITION
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY
JONATHAN RODGERS

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS • NEW HAVEN & LONDON

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Translator's Preface

Wolfdietrich Fischer's *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Porta Linguarum Orientalium, NS XI, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972 (reprinted with additions to the bibliography in 1987) is unquestionably the most useful reference grammar of the classical language for graduate students who have acquired proficiency in German. It is both sufficiently concise for quick reference as the student works on classical texts and rich in content to instill confidence. Although for the English-speaking student, W. Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 1991) contains far more material, its inconvenient arrangement, obsolete English style, and often unhelpful historical and comparative linguistic data make it less than ideal for quick reference and possibly confusing. Of course, as a comprehensive resource for the study of the classical Arabic language, Wright is unsurpassed. For the English-speaking student—or one with inadequate command of German—and, especially, for the student who might be under certain conditions disinclined to invest effort and time in consulting the exhaustive richness of Wright, there has been no suitable reference grammar. This translation of Fischer's *Grammatik* aims to make up for that lack and place into the student's hands a useful and accessible reference tool.

The transliteration of the Arabic examples is based on the system employed by the English *Encyclopædia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden, 1954), with two notable exceptions, namely ق is rendered by *q*, rather than *k*; ج is *j*, rather than *dj*. Thus, ث, ذ, خ, ش, غ are *th*, *kh*, *dh*, *sh*, *gh*. The ل of the definite article is assimilated to the following “sun” letters, so that أَلْشَمْسُ is rendered *ash-shamsu*, rather than *al-shamsu*.

The original bibliography, now more than ten years old, has been updated with significant and major contributions to the field of classical Arabic grammar and linguistics. Since, however, almost all recent books and articles on classical Arabic grammar and its cognate fields are indexed or available in full-text in one or several electronic resources, the translator felt that an exhaustive update in print would be superfluous. Thus, the updated bibliography presented here is expected to serve only as an initial reference tool.

The idea to undertake the translation of Fischer's invaluable resource was conceived long ago when the translator was a graduate student who felt acutely the need for a handy English-language reference resource to aid in working on classical texts. The work was not begun until recently and has progressed unsteadily as time permitted. Originally planned to be completed several years ago, it only now appears thanks to persistent and gentle reminders from the editors at Yale University Press and the forbearance of the translator's employer and spouse.

The translator is pleased to acknowledge the indispensable and patient assistance of the author, who graciously provided changes and additions to the original text for incorporation into this updated English edition. The chapter on syntax, especially, benefits from his numerous additions and improvements.

Well-deserved credit is due Wolfhart Heinrichs, who willingly and patiently read through the translation, spotted numerous errors in translation and style, and contributed valuable and much appreciated suggestions for improvement.

The contribution of Peter T. Daniels, who volunteered to undertake the laborious task of proof-reading the final draft, is gratefully acknowledged. His acute eye eliminated countless misspellings, inconsistencies, and other typographical blunders.

This work was produced with Eberhard Mattes' typesetting program EMTE_X, in combination with Klaus Lagally's set of T_EX macros, ArabT_EX. Their valuable contribution is hereby gratefully recognized. ArabT_EX significantly facilitated the typesetting of the text in mixed Arabic and Roman fonts.

This work is dedicated to two towering figures of American scholarship, John Rodgers, geologist and musician, and Franz Rosenthal, Arabist, Islamicist, and Semitist. Their inestimable and unmatched work continues to challenge and inspire us.

Jonathan Rodgers
Ann Arbor, April 2000

Preface

For German readers, Carl Brockelmann's *Arabische Grammatik* has served for more than half a century as the textbook presenting a systematic grammar of classical Arabic. The longevity of his grammar is due to its exactness and precision, as it masterfully limits itself to the essentials. His description of the syntax represents a significant advancement in Arabic grammatical studies. When Otto Harrassowitz invited me to undertake a revision of this tried and proven text, which had already gone through fourteen editions, it immediately became clear that it was really time to begin from the ground up. Reworking the old grammar was out of the question.

Earlier grammars had borrowed their system of description from the Arab grammarians and adapted it to the style of Latin grammars used in schools. When Carl Brockelmann undertook his revision of Socin's *Arabische Grammatik* for *Porta linguarum orientalium* in 1904, he was still working on his *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. In particular, the syntax in this small Arabic grammar benefited from the results of this historical-comparative study. Since then, however, our understanding of this area of Arabic grammar has grown, as basic research in grammatical methodology has progressed. Research begun a few decades ago that has led to a clearer knowledge of Akkadian has thrown into question many of the old principles of Semitics and demands a completely new presentation of the historical-linguistic issues. Modern linguistics justifiably requires that a grammar emphasize the descriptive aspect over historical speculation, which has, indeed, proven to be an inadequacy of previous grammatical descriptions.

A grammar that is intended to be used mostly as a teaching and reference work, and thus is not a linguistic treatise, should not experiment with methodological and terminological innovation. Therefore, traditional terminology and, in general, the traditional arrangement of the grammar have been preserved, although efforts have been made to present a description consistent with current theory. It has avoided, accordingly, a break with tradition.

Those who wish to embark on training in classical Arabic and those who are already well-acquainted with it have an equal need for a systematic grammar that contains not just the bare essentials, but also everything that is necessary for the interpretation of texts. Brockelmann's treatise, despite its excellence, is too terse. Whenever searching for help in interpreting difficult passages, one must resort to Wright's larger and more comprehensive work, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, or to the more specialized works on syntax by Hermann Reckendorf. In producing a new grammar of classical Arabic, I took efforts to offer more comprehensively and present

as elaborately and completely as possible all the grammatical material required for the interpretation of classical prose as one might encounter under normal circumstances. The material selected is representative of the morphology and syntax of normal classical Arabic. Deviations from the norm, as they occur in pre- and post-classical texts, are pointed out in the notes. The information presented should also be more than sufficient for the understanding of poetical texts.

The examples cited are for the most part borrowed from the standard grammatical treatises (Wright, Nöldeke, Reckendorf, Brockelmann, Wehr, Spitaler) and to a smaller extent are supplemented from my own stock. As is usual in a work intended for instructional purposes, the origin of the examples is not given in detail. Specialists will be able to find out in most cases the sources without too much difficulty. Only citations from the Koran are noted as such. As far as possible, the example phrases in the chapter on syntax are taken from prose texts. Since, however, so much previous research has been based on poetical texts, the goal of drawing examples exclusively from prose sources could not always be fulfilled. Nevertheless, examples from poetry, when they are not explicitly so indicated, are used only if they can illustrate prose usage as well.

Description of the functions of morphological groups (e.g., forms of the verb, state of the nominal forms, elative, etc.), as well as the formal description of word constructions (e.g., genitive constructions, numerical expressions, agreement), can be found in the section on morphology. This arrangement represents a departure from the traditional, in which such grammatical material is usually treated in syntax. Similarly, the function and formal arrangement of the particles within the sentence structure are also presented in morphology. The treatment of the syntax itself then comes in its proper place: It comprises the description of the sentence composed of its parts (Syntax: Parts of the Sentence) and the hierarchical arrangement of the clauses that make up the sentence (Syntax of Clauses). Consistently, I have attempted to underpin the syntactic system with a formal theoretical basis. Such an arrangement of the material is best suited for introducing features of the language with which the beginner is unacquainted. The arrangement according to function can readily offer to users of this grammar the facts about function and meaning of specific linguistic phenomena.

A consistent arrangement with numerous cross-references whenever several principles are involved in one and the same feature, as well as repetition, when necessary, should make it easier for the user to look up and locate specific morphemes and structures. The rules are concisely formulated, and the examples provided are selected to be as representative as possible. The illustrative text and examples provided are intended to supplement one another and to be mutually self-explanatory. References to

other sections of the work should not be overlooked. The reference numbers always refer to paragraph numbers (§). Numbers following decimal points refer to the notes: §110.5 means §100, Note 5.

Arabic citations and examples are vocalized only in the phonology and syntax chapters. In morphology, the unvocalized Arabic is provided with transliteration. That offers the advantage of allowing the reader to become accustomed to seeing unvocalized text, as is the normal situation in Arabic texts. Additionally, this manner of representation allows one to see clearly how Arabic forms are correctly transcribed, an important feature, given the increasing significance of transcribed citations in the scholarly literature. Hypothetical forms are noted by a preceding *, and historical development or origin of forms is noted by > or <.

Earlier grammars usually offered the terminology of the Arab grammarians. By design, most of the Arabic technical terms are absent from this treatise. After considerable thought, they were left out and should be reserved for a specialized description of the system of native Arabic grammar. The system used in this grammar does not rely on the Arabic grammatical tradition. The use of Arabic terminology would, if it were employed, inevitably cause misunderstandings. Only occasionally, and only when an Arabic expression has been naturalized in European grammars, has it been employed.

The notorious difficulties of classical Arabic have their origin not only in the language itself and its inadequate and equivocal orthography, but also in the paucity of useful aids available to the student. The lexicon and grammar are still far from the point where the language can be said to be fully probed and understood. This grammar claims only to attempt to gather together in a concise and clear manner the results of previous scholarship and fashion these into a grammatical system that adequately describes the language. In undertaking this endeavor, several Arabists, foremost Prof. Anton Spitaler and Prof. Hans Wehr, have supported me by offering their friendly advice and many valuable ideas. I hereby extend to them my sincere gratitude. The publication of a new edition in English gives me the opportunity to add some corrections and improvements. Finally, I feel bound to say special thanks to Jonathan Rodgers, who spared no effort to translate this book precisely and in an adequate manner.

Erlangen, April 1996
Wolfdietrich Fischer

Introduction

As a result of the conversion of Arabs to Islam and their establishment of the Islamic empire, Arabic, originally a language of poetry and religion, arose as the linguistic medium of learning and literature for the entire Islamic world. Muslims employed this language, known to us as classical Arabic, in government administration, in literature and science. After the revival of modern Persian and the rise of popular literary languages like Turkish began to constrain the far-flung realm of Arabic in later centuries of the empire, classical Arabic continued to serve as the language of learning for the Islamic world, particularly in the area of religious scholarship. Wherever used, Arabic has maintained the status of a language of the learned and cultured. Modern written Arabic is, indeed, a continuation of and the current version of classical Arabic.

From its earliest times to the present, Arabic has remained superficially almost unchanged. Apart from a few details, the morphology of the old poetic language and that of modern written Arabic are identical. Although the language has continued naturally to change and adapt to new circumstances in many aspects of word usage, in choice of syntactic patterns, and in style, the vocabulary and syntax have remained fundamentally similar.

The “classical” period of this learned literary language occurs in the late eighth and ninth centuries, the golden age of the Abbasid Caliphate. In Kufah and Basrah, philologists had begun to impose on the grammar an academic system, assemble the lexicon, and write the works of lexicography. Mastery of classical Arabic became the highest ideal in the education of Muslims. Philology and grammar became the most thoroughly cultivated sciences in the Islamic world.

Vintage texts of pre- and early Islamic poetry served preeminently as the foundation and prototype of the philological discipline that took shape in the 9th century, while the Koran also played a role. These “pre-classical” old Arabic texts, however, frequently exhibit subtle differences from the language of the “classical” period: Among them is a degree of morphological freedom and archaism that did not gain acceptance in prescriptive grammatical circles and therefore vanished from the classical language. It is difficult, however, to draw a precise boundary between the “pre-classical” language of the pre- and early Islamic corpus and the “classical” language of the philologically learned, because the early texts were widely known, learned, and admired. To speakers of Arabic, *belles lettres* means almost exclusively poetry. In poetry, the often celebrated poets of pre- and early

Islamic times have always been invoked, and archaic forms and unusual syntactic constructions recur with equal frequency in the poetry of later generations.

Despite the prescriptive preoccupation of Arab philologists and grammarians and the language's almost definitive stabilization by the 9th century, classical Arabic did not cease to exist as a natural language. There was constant contact with the spoken language alongside the pursuit on the part of scholars of more precise and flexible means of expression. Out of these conditions, new stylistic and syntactic formations soon developed. By the end of the tenth century, the classical period had ended and gave way to a post-classical form whose constructions and expressions, although rejected by prescriptive grammatical norms, became widely accepted. Nevertheless, the demarcation is equivocal. For every writer who faithfully adhered to classical models, there was another who felt little compunction about indulging in innovation.

From the beginning of its tradition, from the pre-classical language of pre- and early Islamic poetry up through modern written Arabic, classical Arabic has been the language of poetry, culture, literature, and science, the language of the school and education, but not the everyday spoken language. Coexisting with the classical tongue has been another Arabic that contrasts in some respects in morphology and syntax and that is exclusively spoken and not written. Command of the cultural language has always been an issue of education and scholarship. Of course, there were writers who had little or no familiarity with grammatical rules and who thus consistently used forms and expressions from the spoken Arabic in the written or incorrectly used classical forms. We call the language of such writers "Middle Arabic", because it occupied an intermediate position between the learned language and the spoken. Examples of this form exist abundantly in documents of Christian or Jewish origin. The maintenance of classical Arabic was the principal concern of Muslims who revered it as the language of the Koran.

Despite some modification, the structure of classical Arabic, which had stabilized in the 9th century, has remained a genuine immutable standard. The description of classical Arabic necessarily focuses on the language of the "classical" period. This grammar treats above all this classical language. Insofar as it is possible from the current state of research, the "pre-classical" and "post-classical" languages are referred to as divergent forms. Deviations from the classical norm, which cannot be unequivocally identified as either pre- or post-classical, are designated "non-classical".

Writing System

The Alphabet

§1. In the 3rd century AD, Arab Nabateans, although they had normally used Aramaic as their written language, began writing Arabic. The 22 letters of the Aramaic alphabet, some of which in the course of time had acquired the same shape, could not adequately represent the 28 consonantal phonemes of Arabic. The Arabs had to distinguish the ambiguous letters they had adopted with diacritical marks. The original Aramaic order of the alphabet is preserved when the letters serve as numbers (see table):

ا ب ج د ح ز و ه م ن س ف ص ر ق ش

Various writing styles developed during Islamic times, including, among the most important, the monumental *kūfi* and the cursive *naskhi*. A peculiar style, the *maghribi* extended throughout North Africa (*Maghrib*) and Muslim Spain. Today, the most frequently encountered printed fonts are based on the *naskhi*.

Note 1. Script without diacritical marks is called **رسم rasm**. Diacritical marks are partly or altogether lacking in some manuscripts.

Note 2. In the Maghribi style of writing, **ف fā'** is used in place of **ف qāf** and **ق qāf** in place of **ف fā'**.

Note 3. Today, the order of the letters in the alphabet is for the most part determined by similarity of shape. Instead of the order **ه و ي** as the last three letters, one sometimes encounters an older order **ي و ه**. There are also other sequences. In Muslim Spain and North Africa the usual order was:

ا ب ت ث ح خ د ز ر ظ ط ص ض غ ف ق س م ل ن ه و ي

§2. Arabic writing runs from right to left. Some letters are joined to each other, while others are separate. The letters **د ر ز و** connect only to the preceding, not to the following, letter. Thus, a letter that follows one of these must assume its initial form: **صاحب sāhib**, **أهل ahl**, **صديق sadīq**, **منزل manzil**, **فرس faras**, **رأس ra's**, **موضع mawdū'**, **وقد wafd**, **اذن udhun**.

Writing System

Table of the Arabic Writing System

Isolated	From Right	Medial	To Left	Transcription	Letter Name	Numeric Value
ا	ا	—	—	' , ā	'alif	1
ب	ب	ب	ب	b	bā'	2
ت	ت	ت	ت	t	tā'	400
ث	ث	ث	ث	th	thā'	500
ج	ج	ج	ج	j	jīm	3
ح	ح	ح	ح	h	hā'	8
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh	khā'	600
د	د	—	—	d	dāl	4
ذ	ذ	—	—	dh	dhāl	700
ر	ر	—	—	r	rā'	200
ز	ز	—	—	z	zāy	7
س	س	س	س	s	sīn	60
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh	shīn	300
ص	ص	ص	ص	s	sād	90
ض	ض	ض	ض	d	dād	800
ط	ط	ط	ط	t	tā'	9
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	z, d	zā'	900
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh	'ayn	70
ف	ف	ف	ف	f	fā'	80
ق	ق	ق	ق	q	qāf	100
ك	ك	ك	ك	k	kāf	20
ل	ل	ل	ل	l	lām	30
م	م	م	م	m	mīm	40
ن	ن	ن	ن	n	nūn	50
ه	ه	ه	ه	h	hā'	5
و	و	—	—	w, ū	wāw	6
ي	ي	ي	ي	y, ī	yā'	10

For pronunciation, see §§27 ff.

§3. Calligraphy prescribes the use of ligatures to join certain letters:

- a) Initial forms of ب ب ت ث ح ح خ خ when joined to ب ب ت ث ح ح خ خ create the following ligatures, respectively: ب ب ت ث ح ح خ خ, etc., or ب ب ت ث ح ح خ خ, etc., and ب ب ت ث ح ح خ خ, etc., or ب ب ت ث ح ح خ خ, etc. Similarly, ف ف ق ق join with ح ح خ خ to form, respectively: ف ف خ خ or ف ف خ خ, etc.

Note 1. For typographical reasons, certain ligatures containing ح ح خ خ such as ح ح خ خ, etc., are avoided in print. Instead, such combinations as ح خ خ, etc., are employed.

- b) The *lām-alif* ligature is written ل ل and أ أ, respectively; *lām-mīm*, م م and ل ل, respectively; *kāf-alif*, ك ك; *kāf-lām*, ك ل; *kāf-lām-alif*, ك ل أ.

Note 2. In the ل ل *lām-alif* ligature, of Nabatean origin, it appears that the left shaft, *lām*, and the right, *alif*, cross to form ل < *ع.

- c) Before final ف ف and ق ق are shortened to: ف ف and ق ق, etc. Before ض ض and ش ش are altered to: ض ض and ش ش, etc. Before س س and ر ر, the “teeth” of س س and ر ر are altered to form the ligatures: ض ض س س ر ر.
- d) In combination with ز ز and final ن ن, the medial form ن ن of ب ب is changed as follows: ين ين آن آن ب ب, etc.

Note 3. In a sequence of several letters of the basic form of ا ا or و و — including the “teeth” of ض ض and ش ش — alternating higher and lower forms are used to distinguish the letters. The sequence begins with a lower form: تنتسب tanassaba, شتبت *yatahabbatu*, شتبت *shatit*, تصنف *taṣnif*.

Note 4. ي ي is also written ي ي (with two points under the form, as in, ي ي). In many countries, ي ي is employed to express i and ay, while ي ي is used to express a (§10).

Orthography

§4. The orthography of classical Arabic was fixed during the 8th–9th century by the Arab grammarians. With few exceptions, classical orthographic conventions have remained valid until the present for the written language. Some archaic, pre-classical spellings have been preserved in the classical orthography (cf. §§7.7; 8; 9; 10.2). These archaic writing conventions origi-

nated in a form of Arabic that in several respects deviated from the classical norm, but they were adopted anyway almost without change by classical Arabic. The most important deviations are: ٌ (hamzah) was not pronounced within a word or in final position; occasionally, it was replaced by *w* or *y* (§14). The noun case endings -*un*, -*in*, -*an* were lacking. The feminine ending was -*ah* (§13). In adapting the orthography to the phonology of classical Arabic, auxiliary orthographic signs were introduced. These include signs to denote vowels, which were imperfectly represented in a writing system that consisted of consonant signs only. The auxiliary signs are used consistently and fully only in the Koran and frequently in poetry. For the most part, they are employed as needed to assist the reader through difficult texts, or frequently they are completely lacking.

Short Vowels

§5. The short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are rendered by diacritical marks placed above or below the consonant that precedes them. (For the romanized pausal forms of the Arabic technical terms, see §57.)

1. ـ (fathah) *a* فتحة (*fath*): مَنْعَ ذَهَبَ *man'a'a*, دَهَابَ *dhababa*.
2. ـ (kasrah) *i* كسرة (*kasr*): شَرِبَ قَبِيلَ *shariba*, *qabil*.
3. ـ (dammah) *u* ضمة (*damm*): عَظَمَ azuma, عَلَى alu.

§6. ـ (sukūn) سُكُونٌ marks the absence of a vowel after a consonant. At the end of a word, this sign is called جازمة (*jazmah*): بَلْ bal, نِعْمَ ni'ma, يَكْتُبْ yaktab.

Note 1. On the dropping of *sukūn* with *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, see §7. For other examples, see §18.

Long Vowels

§7. Long vowels are represented by: ا = *ā*, ي = *ī*, و = *ū*, where the preceding letter retains the corresponding short vowel sign (i.e., ـ *a*, ـ *i*, ـ *u*). Usually, however, ـ *sukūn* is not placed over ا qāṭala, ي qāṭala : و و qāṭala, نُوزِي nūzī'a, لُومِي lūmī, سِيرِي sīrī. On the other hand, *sukūn* is written where و and ي represent *aw* and *ay*: لَوْمِي lawmī, سَيْرِي sayrī.

Note 1. For ي representing *ī*, *ay* and ا representing *ā*, see §§3.4; 10.

Note 2. A “silent” ا follows و in the plural verb ending -ū, -aw: كَتَبُوا katabū يَكْتُبُوا yaktubū, رَمَّوا ramaw, يَلْقَأُوا yalqaw.

Note 3. For metre and *tajwīd*, the vowels in the personal pronoun suffixes ة, و usually count as short, if a closed syllable precedes, but long if an open syllable precedes. There is no orthographic distinction made: دَارُهُ dāru-hū, رِجْلِهِ rījli-hū, رَمَّاهُ ramā-hu, يَرْمِيهِ yarmī-hi (§268).

Note 4. Final -ī in هَذِهِ dhīhī, هَذِهِ hādhīhī, تِيْهِ tīhī, هَاتِهِ hātīhī ‘these’ (fem.), is not written. In the Koran, the same kinds of spellings also occur frequently in other words: رَبِّ rabbī ‘my lord’, ضَالٌ šālī ‘burning’. In poetry, they are often encountered at verse end where all vowels count as long (§56c).

Note 5. Final -ū in هُمْ humū, كُمْ -kumū, تُمْ -tumū (§264.2) is not written.

Note 6. For metre in poetry, أَنَا 'anā 'I' usually counts as 'ana.

Note 7. Despite their short ی, the plural demonstratives (§274 f.) are commonly written with أُولُو 'olū, أُولَاءِ 'olā'i, أُولَئِكَ 'olāka, أُولَئِكَ 'olāika.

§8. In archaic spellings, for example in the Koran, ā is not consistently represented by ا. To distinguish long from short vowels, *alif* is introduced as a vowel sign: قِيَامَةً = قِيَامَةٍ qiyāmatun ‘rising up’, إِلَهٌ = إِلَهٌ ilāhun ‘god’, لِكِنْ = ثَلَاثٌ thalāthun ‘three’, سَمَاءَاتٍ samāwātun ‘heaven’, لَكِنْ = لَكِنْ lākin ‘but’, etc. In some words, this spelling is consistently used: هَادِهِ hādhā ‘this’, إِلَّا lāhū ‘God’, أَرْحَمْنٌ ar-rahmānu ‘the merciful’, ذَلِكَ dhālikā ‘that’.

Note 1. For technical reasons, sometimes just لـ (fatha) is printed in place of لـ : هَذَا, i.e., hādhā, إِلَّا, i.e., ilāhun.

§9. Some words ending in ātun have preserved a historical spelling with an Aramaic antecedent: حَيَاةٌ hayātun and صَلَاةٌ salātun ‘prayer’, حَيَاةٌ hayātun and حَيَاةٌ life’, زَكَوْةٌ zakātun ‘alms’, مِشْكَوْةٌ mishkātun ‘lamp niche’. Similar examples of historical orthography are found in رِبْوٌ (الرِّبْو) ribū and رِبْوٌ (الرِّبْو) ribān (‘ar-ribā) ‘usury’, تُورَّاتٌ tawrātun ‘Torah’.

§10. At the end of a word, \bar{a} is frequently written with ي ($\text{ي} ramā$) ‘he threw’, $\text{دُكْرَى dhikrā$ ‘remembrance’, $\text{عَلَى 'alā$ ‘on’, $\text{بَلَى balā$ ‘certainly!’. When such an \bar{a} occurs within a word, it is written with ا : رَمَاهَا ramāhu , $\text{دُكْرَاهَا dhikrāhā}$. The following rules for the writing of \bar{a} with ي obtain: With verbs, writing with ي is the rule; only in the basic stem (I) of verbs ending in w (III-w §250) is it written with ا . With nouns, ي figures when \bar{a} is not part of the stem (§64 b). Stem final \bar{a} should be written with ا only in III-w roots; see also §12.

Note 1. After ا ي is always used to represent \bar{a} : دُنْيَا dunyā ‘world’ (not أَخْيَى ahīyā , أَخْيَى ahīyā ‘revived’ (not أَخْيَى ahīyā).

Note 2. In Koranic spelling, ي for \bar{a} is often retained within a word before an affix. Alif is used as a vowel sign to designate \bar{a} (cf. §8), as it does for final \bar{a} : $\text{رَمَى ramā}, \text{رَمَاهُ ramāhu}, \text{سِمَاهُمْ simāhum}$.

Note 3. The Arab grammarians applied the term $\text{أَلْفٌ مَقْصُورَةٌ alif maqsūra}$ to \bar{a} written with ي (and ا), in contrast to $\text{أَلْفٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ alif mamdūda}$ for $-ā'u(n)$ written with ء .

Tanwīn (Nunation)

§11. The consonantal writing system does not represent the noun endings $-un$, $-in$, $-an$ (§147). These must be indicated by diacritical marks $\underline{-un}$, $\underline{-in}$, $\underline{-an}$. The accusative ending, $\underline{-an}$, is additionally accompanied by ا ($alif$): $\text{رَجُلٌ rajulun}, \text{رَجُلًا rajulan}$. ا does not appear with the accusative diacritic $\underline{-}$, however, in the feminine ending $-at-an$ (§13): $\text{مَدِينَةٌ madīnatān}, \text{جَمِيلَةٌ jamilatān}$, or in words ending in $-ā$: سَمَانٌ samā'an .

Note 1. An archaic spelling has been preserved in the proper name ‘Amr: Nominative عَمْرُو Amrū , Genitive عَمْرُونَ Amrin , Accusative أَمْرًا amrā . The و serves to distinguish graphically ‘Amr from the otherwise similarly written proper name ‘Omar: Nominative عَمَرٌ Umaru , Genitive, Accusative عَمَرَ Umara .

Note 2. The writing $\text{ا} \underline{-}$ occurs both in إِذْنٌ idhan , alongside إِذْنٌ idhan , ‘then, therefore’, and in the energetic ending $-an$ (§215): يَنْفَعُ yanfa'an or يَنْفَعَ yanfa'an , ‘may it be useful’.

§12. In nouns whose stem final *-ā* is written with ي (§10), when the *-n* ending is added, the spelling with ي is retained and the final *-an* is written فَتَى هُدَى *hudan*, فَتَى الْهُدَى *al-hudā*, هُدَى فَتَى *fatā* (compare *al-fatā*). The spelling with ي *ā* is the rule, if *y* is the final root letter; however, if it is *w*, ي is written: عَصَانِي *asan* (compare *al-asā*).

Note 1. Spellings with ي and ل alternate frequently in nouns: عَصَانِي *asan* or عَصَانِي *asan* (root *-s-w*), حَشَانِي *hashan* or حَشَانِي *hashan* (root *h-sh-w*).

Tā' marbūtah

§13. The origin of the orthography of the feminine singular ending *-at(un)*, *-āt(un)* is non-classical *-ah*, *-āh* (§4). To produce the classical pronunciation, the two points of the ت are placed on the ة: كَلِمَةٌ *kalimatun*, كَلِمَةٌ *kalimatin*, كَلِمَةٌ *kalimatan* (§11), فَتَاهٌ *fatātun*, فَتَاهٌ *fatātin*, فَتَاهٌ *fatātan*.

Hamzah

§14. The glottal stop, ، which in classical Arabic is a phoneme, was preserved only at the beginning of a word in the non-classical language, according to the consonantal writing system. In initial position, it was indicated by ا *amr*: امر 'order', ابل *ibil*, 'camel', اخت *ukht* 'sister'. In all other positions, since it was no longer pronounced, ، was not written. In syllable-final position, the disappearance of ، caused the lengthening of the preceding sound: رأس *rās* 'head' in place of classical راش *rasun*, بير *bīr* 'well' for classical بيرن *birun*, بوس *būs* 'misery' for classical بوسن *busun*. Vowels of like quality were contracted after the disappearance of ،: روس *rūs* 'heads' for روسن *ruśun*, سال *sāla* 'ask' for سال *sawala*; between vowels of different quality, *w* or *y* developed: سوال *suwāl* 'question' for سوال *swālun*, قائم *qāyim* 'standing' for قائم *qāyimun*, خطيبة *khatīyah* 'sin' for خطيبة *khatīyatun*. After consonants, ، was completely dropped or replaced by *y* or *w* for morphological reasons: بد *bad* 'beginning' for بد *bad'un*, مسله *masalah* 'question' for مسئلہ *masalatun*, سوه *sawwah* 'disgrace' for شوہ *sawratun*.

At the end of a word, ، disappeared after long vowels: سما *samā* 'heaven' for سما *samā'un*, بري *barī* 'innocent' for بري *barīun*, سو *sū* 'evil' for شوہ *sū'un*.

§15. In classical Arabic orthography, ء (همزة *hamzah*) is represented by همزة (ء *hamzah*), where, depending on the spelling convention, ئ و ؤ serve as carriers (or ‘seats’), or, if none of these letters is available, ء has no seat. If *hamzah* falls on ة or ء, the letter loses its diacritical points. The following rules for the writing of *hamzah* obtain as a result of historical orthography:

- At the beginning of a word, ئ carries *hamzah*: أُمْرٌ *amrun*, إِيلٌ *ibilun*, أَخْتٌ *ukhtun*.
- Before and after ئ, ئ carries *hamzah*, if ئ or ؤ is not in contact: رَأْشٌ *ra'sun*, أَرْأَشٌ *ar'asu*, سَأَلٌ *sa'ala*, قَرَأً *qara'a*.
- Before and after ؤ, و carries *hamzah*, if ؤ is not in contact: بُوْشٌ *bwsun*, ابْرُوسُونٌ *abrusun*, رَوْفٌ *raufa*, رُؤْسَاءٌ *ruwasā'u*.
- Before and after ئ, ئ carries *hamzah*: كَيْبٌ *birun*, أَسْيَلَةٌ *asylatun*, كَارِبَا *kariba*, قَائِمٌ *qāimun*, رِئَاسَةٌ *ri'asatun*, سَيْلٌ *swila*.
- At the end of a syllable, *hamzah* is written without a seat following a consonant or long vowel: سَمَاءٌ *samā'un*, بَرِيَّةٌ *barī'un*, سُوَءٌ *sū'un*, بَدْعٌ *bad'un*, شَيْئاً *shayun*, شَيْئاً *shayan*.
- Within a word, ء is written without a seat after a consonant or long vowel in the classical orthography: سَأَلَةٌ *sāala*, مَسَأَلَةٌ *masalatun*, سَوَّةٌ *sawatun*, خَطِيَّةٌ *khaṭī'atun*. Today, however, one usually encounters these spellings: سَأَلَةٌ, سَوَّةٌ, مَسَأَلَةٌ or خَطِيَّةٌ, سَوَّةٌ, مَسَأَلَةٌ or كَيْبٌ *rwūshun* = رُؤْسَاءٌ ء و ئ *ka'bun*.

Note 1. The ء sign derives from ع (ع).

Note 2. After stem final -ا, the accusative ending -an is not marked by ئ: سَمَاءٌ *samā'an* (not سَمَاءاً); see §11.

Note 3. Today, the sound sequences ئي and ؤي within a word are usually written ئي and ؤي. Older spellings avoid the sequence of two ئ's or two ؤ's and prefer ئي and ؤي: كَيْبٌ *rwūshun* = رُؤْسَاءٌ ء و ئ *ka'bun*.

Note 4. An isolated historical spelling occurs in مائة *miyatun* ‘hundred’.

Maddah

§16. Rather than لـلـ for لـا, to avoid two successive l's, one writes: لـمـدـدـه (مـدـدـه) (maddah): أـكـلـلـ، akilun, قـرـآنـ، qurānun, لـهـ، raāhu.

Note 1. In archaic spelling, for example in the Koran, *madda* identifies the sound sequences لـا, لـي, لـو (long vowel + لـ): أـضـدـقـاؤـهـ، asdiqāuhū, يـعـيـ، yajīu, سـوـئـلـ، sūila.

Shaddah

§17. Doubling of a consonant is indicated by زـ (شـدـهـ shaddah): نـزـلـلـ، nazzala, بـشـارـ، bashsharun, نـوـرـ، nawwara, سـيـدـ، sayyidun, سـأـلـ، sa'ālun. Since لـ is the same as iy and لـ the same as uw (§28), the sequences iy and uw can be transliterated iyy and uwuw: صـيـيـ، sabiyun (sabiyyun), عـدـوـوـ، adūuwun ('aduwurun).

Note 1. The sign زـ is derived from شـ, that is, *shaddah*.

Note 2. In modern printing, زـ *kasrah* is usually placed immediately under زـ, while زـ *fathah* lies on top: نـزـلـلـ = نـزـلـ nazzil.

Note 3. When part of a doubled consonant is an element of inflection, only one letter is written, and it bears the *shaddah*: إـتـرـكـ، (i)t-t-araka (§170), ثـبـثـ، thabat-tu (§207). One spells forms resulting from assimilation in the same way: مـيـمـمـانـ، mimman < min-man, لـلـاـ، allā < 'an-lā (§45).

§18. The l of the definite article (الـ)lـ is assimilated to the following consonant, if the forward part of the tongue is involved in its articulation (the "sun" letters [§44]). لـ is always written, and the assimilation is indicated by زـ placed over the following letter. لـ does not take sukūn: أـلـدـارـ، ad-dāru < al-dāru, أـلـرـاجـلـ، ar-rajulu < al-rajulu, أـلـشـنـ، as-sanatu < al-sanatu, أـلـنـارـ، an-nāru < al-nāru, but أـلـبـابـ، al-bābu. Before l, the article behaves as it does in assimilation: أـلـلـاـسـ، al-laylatu, أـلـلـسـاـنـ، al-lisānu; also أـلـلـهـ، al-lāhu "God" < al-'ilāhu "the god" (§49d).

Note 1. Note the writing of only لـ in the following forms of relative pronouns: أـلـذـيـ، alladhī, أـلـذـيـنـ، alladhīna, أـلـلـاتـ، al-latātī, while the other forms are spelled with two لـ's: أـلـلـاتـاـنـ، al-latāni, أـلـلـهـاـنـ، al-ladhāni, أـلـلـوـاـتـ، al-lawāti, etc. (§281).

Note 2. In the same way as with articles, the spelling of other words may occasionally reveal assimilation, for example: شَهِيدٌ *shahidtu* > *shahittu*, غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ *ghafūrun rahīmun* > *ghafūrur-rahīmun* (Koran 2:173, 182, 192, etc.); cf. §48.

Waṣlah

§19. Classical Arabic does not allow a double consonant at the beginning of a word and avoids the possibility by introducing an auxiliary vowel that precedes an initial double consonant. The orthography requires that an l introduce a word that would otherwise begin with a double consonant. In non-classical Arabic, on which the orthography is based, the auxiliary vowel became an essential component of the word: إِسْمٌ *ism*, classical (*i*)*smun* ‘name’, إِبْنٌ *ibn*, classical (*i*)*bnun* ‘son’, إِنْصَرَفٌ *inṣaraf*, classical (*i*)*nṣarafa* ‘turn away’, أَخْرَجٌ *ukhruj*, classical (*u*)*khruj* ‘go away!’. In such cases, in classical Arabic context, the l is not pronounced. The l that is written is therefore merely a silent sign augmented by وَضْلَةٌ (*waṣlah* or صَلَةٌ (*silah*)): *wa-*'smuhu ‘and his name’, *fa-*'nṣarafa ‘then he turned away’, *yā bni* ‘oh my son’; at the beginning of a phrase, however: أَخْرَجٌ *ukhruj*.

Note 1. The l sign derives from ص, that is, صَلَةٌ *silah* ‘connection’.

Note 2. In Arabic grammatical terminology, *alif* that takes *waṣlah* is called أَلِفُ الْوَضْلَلِ *alif al-wasl*.

Note 3. In foreign words, initial double consonants are likewise eliminated; nevertheless, the preceding auxiliary vowel becomes an essential component of the word and is maintained within a phrase; إِقْلِيمٌ *iqlīm* ‘region’ < Greek *κλῆμα*, أَفْلَاطُونُ *aflātūn* ‘Plato’ < *Αριστοτέλης*, أَسْطَوْلُ *astūl* ‘fleet’ < *στόλος*.

§20. Within a phrase, if a vowel precedes a word that begins with a double consonant, no auxiliary vowel is needed: هَذَا آبَنْ *hādhā bnuhū* ‘This is his son’, قَالَ آخْرَجَ *qāla ukhruj* ‘He said, go away!’. If a consonant precedes, however, an auxiliary vowel *i*, *u*, *a* (§54) that produces another syllable is attached to the final consonant of the preceding word: قَدِ آنْصَرَفَ *qad-i nṣarafa* ‘He has gone away’, رَأَوْا آلَبَابٍ *raaw-u 'l-bāba* ‘They saw the door’ مِنْ آبَنْ *min-i bnihi* ‘from his son’.

Note 1. Note how the article precedes *alif al-wasl*: أَلِّا نَمْ (·a)l-i-'smu 'the name', أَلِّي شَرَاء (·a)l-i-'shtirā'u 'the act of buying'.

Note 2. If *tanwīn* (-*un*, -*in*, -*an* §§11; 12) precedes *alif al-wasl* within a phrase, there is no way to represent the auxiliary vowel in writing. Yet, the auxiliary vowel is pronounced: رَجُلٌ ابْنَةٌ حَمِيلَةٌ *rajulun-i* 'bnatuhū *jamilatun* 'a man whose daughter is beautiful', مُحَمَّدٌ الْقَرِيمُ *Muhammadun-i* 'l-Qurashiyu.

§21. In the following cases, | is *alif al-wasl*:

- a) In the words إِنْمَ (·i)*smun* 'name', إِنْ (·i)*bnun* 'son', إِنْتَهَ (·i)*bnatun* 'daughter', إِمْرُؤُ (·i)*stun* 'buttocks', إِمْرُؤَ (·i)*mrwun* 'man', إِمْرَأَةٌ (·i)*mra'atun* 'woman', إِثْنَانِ (·i)*thnāni*, fem. إِثْنَتَانِ (·i)*thnatāni* 'two'.
- b) In the article أَلِّي (·a)l- (§142b).
- c) In the imperative of the basic verbal stem (§220b).
- d) In the perfect, imperative, and verbal noun of the derived verbal stems VII إِفْعَلَ (·i)*nfa'ala*, VIII إِفْعَلَ (·i)*fta'ala*, IX إِفْعَلَ (·i)*f alla*, X إِسْتَفَعَلَ (·i)*staf'ala*, XI إِفْعَالَ (·i)*f alla*, XII إِسْتَفَعَلَ (·i)*f awala*, XIII إِفْعَالَ (·i)*f awwala*, XIV إِفْعَنَلَ (·i)*f anlala*, XV إِفْعَنَلَ (·i)*f anlā*, and the verbal stems III إِفْعَنَلَ (·i)*f anlala*, IV إِفْعَنَلَ (·i)*f alalla* of quadriliteral root verbs (§169 ff.).

§22. In a few fixed constructions, *alif al-wasl* is not written:

- a) In the construction consisting of the particles *li-* and *la-* and the article: لِلْمَجْدِ *lir-rajuli* (not لِلرَّجُلِ *lal-majdu*). If in such cases the following noun begins in ل, the ل of the article is not written: لِلْلَّيْلَةِ *li-laylati* (not لِلَّيْلَةِ *li-llāhi* 'for God' (not لِلَّهِ *la-lāhi*)).
- b) In إِنْ (·i)*bnun* 'son' and إِنْ (·i)*bnatun* 'daughter' in apposition in genealogical phrases, مَالِكُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ بْنُ ثَلَيْةَ *Maliku bnu Sa'di bni Thalabata*. If بْنَةِ, بْنَةِ are at the beginning of a line, however, they are written with |.
- c) In the word إِشْمَ *ismun* in the formula بِسْمِ اللَّهِ *bi-smi 'l-lāhi* 'in the name of God'.

Words Joined in Writing

§23. The particles and prepositions بَـ *bi-*, تَـ *ta-*, سَـ *sa-*, فَـ *fa-*, كَـ *ka-*, لَـ *la-*, لِـ *li-*, وَـ *wa-*, which consist of single letters, are joined to the words that follow: *bi-baladin* ‘in a country’, *ta-'l-lāhi* ‘by God!’, *sa-yartī* ‘he will come’, *li-yafraḥa* ‘let him be happy’, *wa-'swadda* ‘and became black’. With the enclitic particle *mā*, the spelling varies between unjoined and joined forms: طَالَ مَا *tāla mā* or بَعْدَمَا *bādā-mā*, طَالَتَا *tāla-tā* or طَالَتَمَا *tāla-mā*. The elements must be written as one word when *mā* is shortened to *ma* (§285b): فِيمَ *fī-ma* ‘in what?’, عَلَامَ *alā-ma* ‘on what?’ (= مَ + عَلَى).

Abbreviations

§24. Abbreviations are generally idiosyncratic. Only a few formulaic expressions are abbreviated, and they are marked as such with — over the abbreviation:

عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ = *alayhi 's-salām(u)* ‘Upon him be peace!’

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ = *sallā 'l-lāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam(a)* ‘God bless him and grant him salvation’ (eulogy for the Prophet Muhammad).

رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ = *radiya 'l-lāhu anhu* ‘May God be pleased with him’ (eulogy for the Companions of the Prophet).

رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ = *rahimahu 'l-lāhu* ‘May God have mercy upon him’ (eulogy for the dead).

إِلَى أَخِيرِهِ = *ilā 'akhirihi* ‘To its end’, i.e., ‘etc’.

إِلَى هُنَّا = *ilā hāhunā* ‘To here’, i.e., ‘the citation goes this far’.

حَدَّثَنِي = *haddathanī* ‘He reported to me’.

حَدَّثَنَا = *haddathanā* ‘He reported to us’.

أَخْبَرَنَا = *akhibaranā* ‘He transmitted to us’.

Numerals

§25. The numbers, which the Arabs borrowed from India, are written as follows:

•	۱	۲	۳	۴ or ፩	۵	۶	۷	۸	۹
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

For example: ۳۷۹ 379, ۱۳۲۰ 1320.

Note 1. Notice that the numerals are written from left to right.

The letters of the alphabet can also be used to represent numbers (see p. 4, table of the Arabic writing system): ل 11, م 45, ق ۱۰۹ 109.

Phonology

Phonemes

§26.

a) Vowels:	sonant	short <i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
		long <i>ā</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
	consonantal		<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>
b) Consonants:		Non-emphatic	Emphatic	
	Labial	<i>f b m</i>		
	Apical	<i>t d <u>th</u> <u>dh</u></i>	<i>t̄ d̄ (z̄)</i>	
	Sibilant	<i>s z <u>sh</u></i>	<i>s̄ d̄</i>	
	Liquid	<i>r l n</i>		
	Dorsal	<i>k g (j) <u>kh</u> <u>gh</u></i>	<i>q</i>	
	Pharyngeal	‘ <i>h</i>		
	Laryngeal	‘ <i>h</i>		

Note 1. All consonants, including the semi-vowels *y*, *w*, can be geminated: *nazala* ‘come down’ : *nazzala* ‘send down’, *qawāmun* ‘uprightness’ : *qaw-wāmun* ‘established’.

Pronunciation

§27. The Arab grammarians described the phonemes of classical Arabic according to place and manner of articulation. The earliest classification is that of al-Khalīl (d. 786/7). Sibawayh (d. 793) and later grammarians provided an array of elaborate systems in which they classified the phonemes variously according to manner of articulation. The following description of articulation is based on Classical Arabic as it is spoken today in the Arab world.

Note 1. The Arab grammarians’ conception of phonetics was influenced by the written form. They called the vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*), which are represented by diacritical marks (§5), حركات *harakātun* (sing. حركة *harakatun*, ‘movement’). The other phonemes, represented by letters, including ل *ā*, ة *ī*, و *ū*, ي *y*, و *w*, were حروف *hurūf* (sing. حرف *harfun* ‘edge, letter’).

Note 2. The orthography distinguishes two phonemes ض *d* and ط *ṭ d* (*z*) that have merged in modern Arabic dialects. Originally, the articulation of ض was probably lateral. The present-day pronunciation of ض — ط is *d* in Bedouin speech, and *ḍ* in urban speech. This variation is secondarily used to distinguish ض from ط, as ض is associated with the sound *d*, and ط, with *ḍ* or *z* (§31.1). Therefore, it is customary to transliterate ض *d*, and ط, *ḍ*, *z*. In this chapter on phonology, ط is rendered by *ḍ*; elsewhere in the grammar, it is romanized as *z*.

Vowels

§28. a) The short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are sonant. They never occur at the beginning of a syllable (§51). *y* and *w* are consonantal vowels. They can appear at the beginning and the end of a syllable. Sonant and consonantal vowels may combine homogeneously or heterogeneously: homogeneous contact *iy* = *i*, *uw* = *u*, heterogeneous contact *ay*, *aw*. The long vowel *ā* is ambiguous in that it can be regarded as a double sonant or as a sonant-consonantal combination: *nāma* ‘sleep’ with *ā* = *a-a* (morpheme type *fa‘ala*), *kħālun* ‘uncle’ with *ā* = *a + consonant* (morpheme type *fa‘lun*).

b) The consonantal nature of *y* and *w* is evident in pronunciation only at the beginning of a syllable. At the end of a syllable, *y* and *w* are sonantized by the preceding sonant, so that homogeneous combinations are pronounced as long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, heterogeneous combinations, as diphthongs [ai], [au].

Note 1. The sound sequences *iyy* (*īy*) and *uww* (*ūw*) are written يـيـ *iyy*, وـوـ *uww* (§17). A distinction between transliterations *iyy* and *īy*, *uww* and *ūw* should be made for morphological reasons: عـدـوـ *adūwun* ‘enemy’ (morpheme pattern *fa‘ilun*), قـوـادـ *quwwādun* ‘leaders’ (pl.) (morpheme pattern *fu‘ālun*).

Note 2. In the passive of verbal stems II, III, V, and VI, the orthography distinguishes for morphological reasons between *ūw* and *uww* in II-w verbs: قـوـومـ *qūwima* (*fū‘ila*), قـوـمـ *quwwima* (*fu‘ila*).

§29. The vowels exhibit a number of variants conditioned by contact. Contact with emphatic consonants usually results in back (velarized) variants. Contact with non-emphatic apicals, sibilants, and liquids commonly causes palatalization. The tense articulation of the pharyngeals is likewise transferred to following vowels. Precise rules for the distribution of conditioned variants do not exist for classical Arabic.

Note 1. Arab grammarians called the palatalized articulation **اماله**, *imālah* and the velarized articulation, **تفخيم** *tafkīm*.

Note 2. The word *allāh(u)* ‘God’ is pronounced with distinct *tafkīm*: [al|āh]. The velarized articulation does not occur if *i* precedes the *ll*: *billāh(i)* [billāh].

Consonants

§30. Non-emphatic consonants:

Labial: *b* and *m* are bilabial. *f* is labio-dental.

Note 1. *f* replaces *p* in foreign words and personal names: *aflātūnu* < Πλάτων (§19.3), *farādīsu* ‘paradise’ (plural) < Greek παράδεισος.

Apical: *t* and *d* are alveolar stops. *t* is aspirated. *th* and *dh* are interdental spirants.

Note 2. Speakers of dialects lacking *th* and *dh* occasionally substitute *s* for *th*, *z* for *dh*, and *ż* for *d* (§31a).

Sibilants: *s* is voiceless; *z* is voiced; *sh* is voiceless.

Liquid: *r* is a voiced dental vibrant (‘r’ flapped at the tip of the tongue); *l* is lateral; *n* is nasal.

Note 3. Before *b*, *n* is usually assimilated partially [m]: *janbun* [jambun] ‘side’.

Dorsal: *k* and *g* are palatal stops. *kh* and *gh* are velar spirants. *k* and *kh* are voiceless; *g* and *gh* are voiced.

Note 4. The original pronunciation of *g* is preserved in Lower Egypt (Cairo). In other dialects, *g* is pronounced as a pre-palatal affricate [j], as a voiced sibilant [zh] (voiced correspondent of *sh*), or as a palatal semi-vowel [y]. The description of *g* by Arab grammarians indicates that they had in mind a [j] pronunciation. Therefore, it is common to pronounce classical Arabic *g* as [j] and transliterate it also as *j*.

Pharyngeals: ‘ and *h* are produced by tightening the glottis while raising the larynx against the pharynx. ‘ is a voiced, *h* an unvoiced, spirant.

Note 5. Since there is not any oral constriction in the articulation of *h*, ‘, *h*, these sounds have an affinity to *a*. One perceives an *a* after ‘ and *h*, which is only an attendant feature of their articulation; frequently, however, *a* after ‘, *h*, *h* acquires the status of a phoneme: *sha‘arun* occurs alongside *sha‘run* ‘hair’ (§38).

Laryngeal: ‘ (*hamzah*) is a glottal stop. In Arabic it is a consonantal phoneme and appears not only before vowels but also after vowels at syllable end: *yāmuru* ‘he ordered’, *rāsun* ‘head’. *h* is a laryngeal spirant, which, like ‘, can occur at syllable end: *fahmun* ‘understanding’.

§31. a) The emphatic consonants, in contrast to their non-emphatic counterparts, have an additional feature of articulation: velarization. Velarization is the raising of the back portion of the tongue against the velum to further constrict the space. The raising of the back of the tongue involves the larynx and the base of the tongue, and the result is a slightly constricted articulation. Velarization in the production of *t*, *d*, *s* shifts the apical constriction back from the alveolar ridge toward the base of the tongue. According to rules of pronunciation for Koran reciters, *d* is an emphatic interdental spirant (§27.2).

Note 1. Speakers of dialects that have no interdental spirant substitute *z* (the emphatic counterpart of *z*) for *d* (§30.2). It is common, therefore, to transliterate the letter *ش* in classical Arabic with *z*.

Note 2. In contrast to *t*, emphatic *t* is not aspirated.

b) *q* is a voiceless postvelar, or uvular, stop, the emphatic counterpart of *k* and *g*. Commonly described as velarization, the palato-dorsal articulation of *k*, *g* moves back, as the back of the tongue is raised towards the uvula.

Note 3. In Bedouin dialects, *q* is pronounced as a voiced [g]. This pronunciation was recognized by the Arab grammarians.

Stress

§32. Nothing is known about stress in classical Arabic at the time of its codification by the Arab grammarians. Egyptian Koran readers determine the placement of word stress according to the following rules:

- a) The final syllable never carries the word stress.
- b) The main word stress never falls back beyond the antepenultimate syllable.
- c) The penultimate syllable is stressed, if it is closed (§51): *qátala* : *qatálta*, *raqábatun* : *raqabátun*, *raqabatáni*.
- d) In the construct state (§146), the final syllable counts as part of the following word: *talábatur* : *tálabat|tu l-ilmi*.
- e) One-syllable proclitic particles are not stressed: *fa-mášhā*, *’al-ábu*, *bi-ábi*, *’al-ládhi* (§281).

In some regions, different stress patterns are used, in which the pre-antepenultimate syllable may receive stress: *mámlakatun* vs. *mamlákatun*, *qátalahū* vs. *qatálahū*.

Combinatory and Historical Phonology

Vowels

§33. When the sequence *iw* and *uy* occurs, the similarity of *i* and *y*, *u* and *w* usually produces a levelling of the heterogeneous vowels.

a) *iw* regularly becomes *iy* (ī), when *w* ends a syllable: ‘īqā‘un < *‘iwqā‘un (root *w-q-*), *mīzānun* < **miwzānun* (root *w-z-n*), *mītātun* < **miwtatun* (root *m-w-t*). *īw* also becomes *īy*: ‘alīyun < *‘alīwun (root *-l-w*).

Note 1. *iw* becomes *iy* in verbal nouns and plural morphemes of the pattern *fī‘ālun*, even though *w* would be at the beginning of a syllable: *qiyāmun* ‘standing’ (root *q-w-m*), *thiyābun* ‘garment’, plural of *thawbun*. In other cases, *w* is maintained: *qiwāmun* ‘foundation’ (§248.4). In morphemes of the pattern *fī‘alatun* *iw* > *iy* is optional: *thiwaratun*, *thiyaratun*, plural of *thawrun* ‘bull’.

b) *uy* becomes *iy* (ī), or, infrequently, *uw* (ū): *bīdun* < **buydun* (root *b-y-đ*), stem *talaqqī* < **talaqquy-* (§34), *aydin*, stem ‘*aydī-* < *‘*ayduy-* plural of *yadun* ‘hand’ (root *y-d-y*). *ūy* also becomes *īy*: *marmīyun* < **marmūyun* (root *r-m-y*), *huwīyun* < **huwūyun* (root *h-w-y*) (§34), ‘*ughnīyatun* < *‘*ughnūyatun*. In verb stem IV of I-*y* roots, morphologically distinctive *u* is preserved. Thus, *uy* must become *uw* (ū): *yūqinu*, *mūqinu* < **yuyqinu*, **muyqinun*.

Note 2. *uy* is maintained, if *y* is geminated (*yy*): *suyyira*; cf. §68 c. In cases like *liyyun*, *luyyun*, i.e., pattern *fū'lun* of the root *l-w-y*, either possibility exists.

Note 3. Notice *ūy* > *īy*, when the personal pronoun suffix *-ya* (§269 c) is added. In morpheme pattern *fū'ila* of II-*y* roots, morphological *ū* is preserved: *zūyila* ‘was separated’.

Note 4. Infrequently in pre-classical texts, *uy* > *iy* in morpheme patterns *fū'ulun* and *fū'aylun* of II-*y* roots is observed: ‘*iyūnun* for ‘*uyūnun* and *shiyaymūn* for *shuyaymūn*, *hiyayyūn* for *huyayyūn*.

c) *yw* and *wy* as a rule assimilate to *yy*: ‘*ayyāmun* < *‘*aywāmun* (root *y-w-m*), *ghayyun* < **ghaywun* (root *gh-w-y*), ‘*ubayyyun* < *‘*ubaywun*, diminutive of ‘*abun* ‘father’ (root *-b-w*). After *u*, *uw* replaces *yy*: *quwwatun* ‘power’ (root *q-w-y*).

Note 5. Sometimes, *yw* is maintained for morphological reasons: 'aywamu = pattern 'af¹alu of root *y-w-m*, *judaywilun*, diminutive of *jadwalun*.

§34. a) Although -ā, -ī, or -ū may occur in stem final position in verbs of III-weak roots, in nouns only -ā and -ī may occur in that position (§69 a). Accordingly, forms of the patterns *tafa¹ul*, *tafā¹ul*, 'af¹ul with stem final ī are treated as forms of III-*y* with *uy* > *iy* (§33 b): *tarāmī-* = *tafā¹ul* pattern of the root *r-m-y*. In the same way, nominal *fū¹lun* (§88) is formed with *y* as the third radical: 'usīyūn = *fū¹lun* of the root '-s-w/y'. In verbal *fū¹lun*, as well as *fa¹lun* and *maf¹lun*, however, there is variation between III-*w* and III-*y* (§§256 b; 257.1).

b) Sonant suffixes are contracted into stem-final -ā, -ī, -ū. Suffixed sonants *a*, *i*, *u* merge into ā: *yalqā* = **yalqā-a* (*yaf¹ala*) or **yalqā-u* (*yaf¹alu*), 'a¹lā = *'a¹lā-u, -i, -a ('af¹alu, 'af¹ali, 'af¹ala). Only *i*, *u* are contracted into stem-final -ī, -ū; suffixed *a*, however, is preserved after -ī, -ū: *talaqqī* = **talaqqī-u*, -i (*tafa¹ulu*, *tafa¹uli*), *talaqqiya* (*tafa¹ula*); *yad¹ū* = **yad¹ū-u* (*yaf¹ulu*), *yad¹uwa* (*yaf¹ula*); cf. §252.

Note 1. After *uww* (ūw) and *iyy* (īy), contraction does not occur: *yamānī* = **yamānī-u*, -i (§116.1), but *yamaniyyu*, *yamaniyyi*.

§35. a) The following contractions and vowel combinations occur when suffixes consisting of long vowels are attached to stems ending in vowels:

ī-ī	>	ī:	* <i>tarmī-īna</i> > <i>tarmīna</i> , * <i>qādī-īna</i> > <i>qādīna</i>
ī-ū	>	ū:	* <i>yarmī-ūna</i> > <i>yarmūna</i> , * <i>qādī-ūna</i> > <i>qādūna</i>
ū-ī	>	ī:	* <i>tadī-ūna</i> > <i>tadīna</i>
ū-ū	>	ū:	* <i>yadī-ūna</i> > <i>yadīna</i>
ā-ī	>	ay:	* <i>talqā-īna</i> > <i>talqayna</i> , *'a ¹ lā-īna > 'a ¹ layna
ā-ū	>	aw:	* <i>ramā-ū</i> > <i>ramaw</i> , *'a ¹ lā-ūna > 'a ¹ lawna
ā-ā	>	ayā:	* <i>ramā-ā</i> > <i>ramayā</i> , * <i>fatā-āni</i> > <i>fatayāni</i>
	>	awā:	* <i>da¹ā-ā</i> > <i>da¹awā</i> , *'a ¹ shā-āni > 'a ¹ shawāni

The distribution of *ayā*/*awā* is determined by the root consonant: *ramayā* (root *r-m-y*) and *da¹awā* (root *d-¹-w* §250).

Note 1. In nouns, sometimes both *ayā* and *awā* are possible: *qanawātun*, *qanayātun*, plurals of *qanātun* (stem *qanā-*) 'cane'.

b) If *ā* is suffixed to a noun ending in *-ā* (§§10; 64 b), *ā-ā* always becomes *ayā*: **dhikrā-ātun* > *dhikrayātun*, **hublā-āni* > *hublayāni*. If the noun ends in *-ā'u*, *-ā'un* (§64 c), *ā-ā* always becomes *āwā*: **sahrā-āni* > *sahrāwāni* (*sahrā'u*) ‘desert’, **khadrā-ātun* > *khadrāwātun* (*khadrā'u*) ‘herbs’, **hirbā-āni* > *hirbāwāni* (*hirbā'un*) ‘chameleon’.

Note 2. In nouns of III-weak roots with stem-final *-ā'u* (§69 b), ' is retained before the ending: *kisā-āni* (*kisā'un*) ‘garment’. An exception is *samāwātun*, plural of *samā'un* ‘heaven’.

Note 3. In the formation of the *nisbah* adjective (§117), *ā-iyy* regularly becomes *awiyy*, but also in many cases *āwiyy*.

c) ' is inserted to prevent contraction of the sequence *ā-i* in stem morphemes: *qā'ilun* = *fā'ilun* (stem *qāl-*) (§247 a), *fadā'ilu* = *fa'ā'ilu* (*faḍilatun*) (§98). ' also prevents contraction in *-ā'u*, *-ā'un*, inflected variants of *-ā* (§64c).

§36. a) Consonantal vowels *w* and *y* as a rule do not fall between sonants. This is why, for example, there is no morpheme pattern *fu'ul* formed from III-weak roots and, for the most part, II-*w*. On this, cf. §60.

Note 1. II-*y* roots do have a *fu'ulun* pattern: *buyudun*, plural of *bayūdun* ‘(egg-)laying’. Exceptionally, there is a *fu'ulun* pattern of root II-*w*: *suwukun*, plural of *siwākun* ‘tooth cleaner’. Usually, the pattern *fu'lun* (a contraction of *uwu* > *ū*) occurs instead: *sūkun*.

Note 2. *y* or *w* between sonants in II-weak roots is sometimes avoided by forms with *yy*: *bayyūtun* ‘stale’ (otherwise *fa'ūlun*, root *b-y-t*), *sayyidun* ‘master’ (otherwise *fa'ilun*, *fā'ilun*, root *s-w-d*).

b) *w* and *y*, if they precede long vowels, can, however, fall between sonants: *qawāmun*, *qiwāmun* (§33.1), *tawīlun*, *khawūnun*, *huwūlun*. In forms based on II-*w* roots, *wu*, *wū* may be replaced by 'u, 'ū: *nawūmum* or *na'ūmum* (root *n-w-m*), *kuwūlatun* or *khwūlatun* (root *kh-w-l*), 'anwuqun or 'an'uqun (root *n-w-q*).

Note 3. There are occasional variants of I-w roots which appear with : : *'ir thun |* ‘inheritance’ from *wartha* ‘inherit’.

Note 4. There are some II-weak roots that consistently have fixed consonantal *w* and *y*: *'iwajun*, *'awajun*, *'a^cwaju* (§245.3).

§37. a) In the *fu^ülun* pattern of III-y roots, like **huwūyun* > *huwīyun* (§§33 b; 34 a), the *u* of the first syllable can be assimilated to the following *īy*: *'utīyun*, *'itīyun* ‘coming’, *'uṣīyun*, *'iṣīyun* ‘sticks’, *qusīyun*, *qisīyun* ‘bows’ (§88).

b) In the words (*‘i*)*mrwun* ‘man’ and (*‘i*)*bnumun* = (*‘i*)*bnun* ‘son’, the stem vowel assimilates to the inflectional ending: (*‘i*)*mrwun*, (*‘i*)*mriⁱin*, (*‘i*)*mraⁱan*, and (*‘i*)*mraⁱatun* ‘woman’; (*‘i*)*bnumun*, (*‘i*)*bnimin*, (*‘i*)*bnam-an*.

Note 1. Alternation of the stem vowel in harmony with inflectional ending was originally regular in several two-radical words (§70 b): *sanatun* ‘year’, plural *sunūna*, *sinīna*; *kuratun* ‘ball’, plural *kurūna*, *kirīna*. In classical Arabic, the alternation was discontinued: *sinūna*, *sinīna*; *kurūna*, *kirīna*.

Vowel Epenthesis

§38. Frequently after *r*, *l* and *‘*, *gh*, *h*, *h*, non-morphologically conditioned sonants are generated. These extra vowels are usually *a*, less often *i*: **talbun* > *talabun* ‘desire’, *tardun* or *taradun* ‘hunting’, *halkatun*, *halakatun* ‘ruin’, *raghbatur*, *raghabatur* ‘wish’, **sarqun* > *saraqun*, *sariqun* ‘theft’, *nahrūn*, *naharun* ‘river’, *sha^crun*, *sha^carun* ‘hair’, *da^cfun*, *da^cafun* ‘weakness’.

Consonants

§39. Classical Arabic has preserved almost unchanged the proto-Semitic inventory of consonantal phonemes. Only the sibilants have undergone simplification. Arabic *sh* is the successor of proto-Semitic **š*. In Arabic, *s* represents the coalescence of proto-Semitic **s* and **sh*.

Root consonants (radicals) exhibit stability in all morphological variations. No assimilation occurs between root consonants in contact. Any assimilation that takes place is caused by consonants that are elements of inflectional morphology (§44 ff.).

Dissimilation of ' (hamzah)

§40. ' is dropped at the end of a syllable, if the syllable also begins with
 ' : 'a > 'ā, 'w > 'uw, 'i > 'iy: *'athara > 'āthara, *'wminu > 'ūminu,
 *'imānun > 'imānun, *'afāqun > 'āfāqun.

Note 1. In cases like *(*i*)*tamara* > *itamara* (§21 d), *i* necessarily dissimilates only at the beginning of a phrase. Within a phrase, this form is pronounced *tamara* (spelled فَاتِمَة fa-*tamara*). See §237.1.

§41. a) If two syllables beginning with ' follow one another, the second is usually dissimilated: *'a'immatun* > *'ayimmatun* (root '-m-m), **jā'i'un* > **jā'iyun* > *jā'in* 'coming'. In **ri'ā'un* > *riyā'un* 'hypocrisy' and **dhawā'ibū* > *dhawā'ibu* 'forelocks', the second ' has to be preserved.

Note 1. As a rule, dissimilation does not occur in verbs I-> after the prefix *'u-*: *'wammi*lu 'I hope', *'wāni*su 'I am familiar with'. There are, however, forms with *w* root variants: *'uwāmiru*, *'wāmiru* 'I seek advice', *'uwāstī*, *'wāstī* 'I share'.

Note 2. In *burā'ā'u* > *burā'u* (§90.3), the syllable is dropped following dissimilation of \cdot . Cf. §49 d.

b) If the first of two consecutive syllables beginning with \cdot ends in a consonant, the second \cdot may be dropped as the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened: $\cdot ab\bar{a}run$ or $\cdot \bar{a}b\bar{a}run$, plural of $b\bar{i}run$ ‘well’, $\cdot ar\bar{a}mun$ or $\cdot \bar{a}r\bar{a}mun$, plural of $r\bar{i}mun$ ‘white gazelle’, $\cdot ab\bar{u}run$ or $\cdot \bar{a}burun$, plural of $b\bar{i}run$. The same process takes place where secondary $\cdot u < wu$ (§36 b): $\cdot an\bar{u}qun < anw\bar{u}qun$ or $\cdot \bar{a}nuqun$, plural of $n\bar{a}gatun$ ‘she-camel’.

Note 3. The plural of *ra'yun* is *'arā'un* (< **arā'un*).

Note 4. The merger of roots I-› and II-› in the plural morpheme pattern *'af ālun* occasionally produces new formations: *'adabun* ‘custom’, a back-formation from *'ādābun*, plural of *da'bun* ‘habit’.

c) If the particle *'a* (§335 a) precedes a word beginning with *'*, both *'*s are retained: *'a-'adkhulu* ‘shall I come in?’ The initial glottal stop and vowel of the article (*'a*)*l-* (§142 b) are not elided after *'a*: *'a-'al-'abdu* ‘the slave?’.

Other words beginning with double consonants (§21) use the contextual form after *'a*: *'a-shtakā* ‘did he complain?’.

Dropping of *'* (hamzah)

§42. Some I-› verbs lose *'* in the imperative: *kul* ‘eat!’ (root *'-k-l*), likewise *khudh* ‘take!’, *mur* ‘order!’ (§238). As a change that originates in **'arā* > *'arā*, the imperfect forms of *ra'ā* ‘he saw’ and verb stem IV of this root lose the root *'* in all inflectional categories: *'arā*, *tarā*, *yarā*, etc. and *'arā*, *'arayta*, *'uri*, *turi*, *yurā*, etc. (§239 b).

§43. In the formation of nouns from III-› roots, there often occur forms based on variants of III-weak roots (§67 a). In non-classical texts, III-weak roots very often replace III-› roots, for example: (*i*)*ttakā* (imperfect *yattaki*) instead of (*i*)*ttak'a* (imperfect *yattaki'u*) ‘lean on’ (root *w-k-*).

Note 1. *nabīyun* ‘prophet’, which etymologically belongs to the root *n-b-*, is borrowed from Aramaic *nbiy(ā)*. Forms like *nabī'un*, plural *nuba'ā'u* are hyper-classicisms.

Assimilation

§44. The *l* of the article (*'a*)*l-* (§142 b) is assimilated completely to consonants articulated with the forward part of the tongue: *t*, *d*, *th*, *dh*, *r*, *n*, *l*, *s*, *z*, *sh*, *s*, *d*, *t*, *d̤* (*z*): *'al-taqwā* > *'at-taqwā* ‘piety’, *'al-saydu* > *'as-saydu* ‘game’, *'al-dabyu* > *'ad-dabyu* ‘antelope’. Cf. above, Writing System, §18.

Note 1. The Arab grammarians called these consonants **أَخْرُوفُ الْشَّمْسِيَّةِ** *al-hurūf ash-shamsiyah* ‘sun letters’ after (*'a*)*sh-shamsu* ‘sun’.

The rest of the letters, which are not assimilated to the *l*, are called **أَخْرُوفُ الْقَمَرِيَّةِ** *al-hurūf al-qamariyyah* ‘moon letters’ after (*'a*)*l-qamar* ‘moon’.

§45. The *n* of the particles *'in*, *'an*, *min*, *'an* and of the verbal stems (*'i*)*nfa'ala* and (*'i*)*f'anlala* is assimilated to following *m*. *n* of *'in*, *'an* also is assimilated to following *l*:

nm > *mm*: *'in-mā* > *'immā*, *min-mā* > *mimmā*, *min-man* > *mimman*, *'an-mā* > *'ammā*, *'an-man* > *'amman*, (*'i*)*nmaḥaqa* > (*'i*)*mmaḥaqa* 'be annihilated', (*'i*)*khranmasa* > (*'i*)*khrammaṣa* 'grow dumb'.

nl > *ll*: *'in-lā* > *'illā*, *'an-lā* > *'allā*.

§46. Infixed *-t-* of verbal stem VIII causes assimilation after *d*, *th*, *dh*, *z*, *s*, *q*, *t*, *d* as follows:

<i>dt</i> > <i>dd</i> :	* <i>d-t-a'ā</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>ddaa'ā</i> 'claim'
<i>tht</i> > <i>thth</i> or <i>tt</i> :	* <i>th-t-a'ara</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>ththaa'ara</i> or rarely (<i>'i</i>) <i>ttaa'ara</i> 'get revenge'
<i>dht</i> > <i>dhdh</i> or <i>dd</i> :	* <i>dh-t-akara</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>dhdhakara</i> or (<i>'i</i>) <i>ddakara</i> 'remember'
<i>zt</i> > <i>zd</i> :	* <i>z-t-ahama</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>zdahama</i> 'crowd'
<i>st</i> > <i>st</i> :	* <i>s-t-ahaba</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>stahaba</i> 'accompany'
<i>dt</i> > <i>dt</i> or <i>dd/tt</i> :	* <i>d-t-arrā</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>dṭarrā</i> 'force' * <i>d-t-alaa'a</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>dḍalaa'a</i> or (<i>'i</i>) <i>ṭṭalaa'a</i> 'be proficient'
<i>tt</i> > <i>tt</i> :	* <i>t-t-alaa'a</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>ṭṭalaa'a</i> 'become aware'
<i>dt</i> > <i>dd</i> or <i>tt</i> :	* <i>d-t-alama</i> > (<i>'i</i>) <i>dḍalama</i> or infrequently (<i>'i</i>) <i>ṭṭalama</i> 'suffer injustice'

Note 1. Orthographical convention prescribes that the assimilated forms اَطْلَعْ, اَضْطَلَعْ, اَضْطَرَّ, اَصْطَحَبْ, اَزْدَحَمْ, اَذْكُرْ, اَذْكَرْ, اَثْأَرْ, اَثْأَرْ, اَذْعِيْ, اَذْعِيْ. Cf. also اَتَّبَعْ (*'i*)*ttaba'a* < **t-t-aba'a* 'follow'.

§47. The prefix of the pre-classical V and VI verbal stems was *t-* instead of *ta-*. This prefix was assimilated to following *th*, *dh*, *d*, *z*, *s*, *sh*, *s*, *t*: **t-zayyana* > (*'i*)*zzayyana* 'adorn oneself', **t-ṭayyara* > (*'i*)*ṭṭayyara* 'see an evil omen', **ya-t-saddaqu* > *yaṣṣaddaqu* 'he gives alms', **ya-t-dathharu* > *yaddathharu* 'he covers himself'.

Note 1. Forms with *t-* prefix instead of *ta-* are recognizable as such only by their spelling, which reveals the assimilation: يَدْقُرْ, يَصْدَقْ, اَطْلَرْ, اَزْيَنْ.

§48. Perfect suffixes beginning in *t* (-*ta*, -*ti*, -*tu*, -*tum*, -*tunna*, -*tumā*) can assimilate to stem-final *d*, *th*, *dh*, *d*, *t*, *d̪*: *labith-tu* > *labittu* ‘I lingered’, ‘*arad-ta* > ‘*aratta* ‘you desired’, *basat-tum* > *basat̪um* ‘you spread out’. The unassimilated forms are always written: بسطت، لبشت، اردت (§18.2).

Syllable Ellipsis

§49. If two identical or similar consonants follow one another separated only by a sonant, the sound sequence *CVCV* or *CVCV̄* tends to be simplified, as long as no morphological ambiguity results.

a) In the prefix-conjugation, *ta-ta-* tends to be reduced to *ta-* in stems V, VI, and in stem II of quadriliteral verbs: *tata^allamu* or *ta^allamu* ‘you/she learn/s’, *tatanāwamu* or *tanāwamu* ‘you/she go/es to sleep’.

b) *taṭā-* may be reduced to *ṭā-* in stem X of II-weak verbs: (*i*) *staṭā^aa* or (*i*) *stā^aa* ‘to be able’, (*i*) *staṭāla* or (*i*) *stāla* ‘to become long’.

c) -*na-* preceding the personal pronoun suffixes -*nī*, -*nā* (§268) may be elided: ‘*inna-nī* or *innī*, ‘*inna-nā* or *innā*, ‘*anna-nī/-nā* or *annā*, ‘*annī*, *tadribūna-nī* or *tadribūnī*, *tadribīna-nā* or *tadribīnā*. In the same way, -*ni* in the dual is elided: *tadribāni-nī* or *tadribānī*.

Note 1. The shortening of -*namā* to -*nā* is evident in the pair *bayna-mā* or *baynā* ‘while’.

d) After the definite article (*a*)*l-* in the words ‘*ilāhun* ‘god’, ‘*ulā*i** ‘these’, and ‘*unāsun* ‘people’, *‘* is dropped and the following vowel is also elided: ‘*al-*‘*ilāhu* ‘the god’ > ‘*allāhu* ‘God’, *‘*al-*‘*ilātu* > ‘*allātu* ‘Allāt’ (proper name of a goddess), ‘*al-*‘*ulā*i** > ‘*allā*i** ‘those who’, ‘*al-*‘*unāsu* > ‘*an-nāsu* ‘people’, from which the indefinite *nāsun* ‘people’ developed as an independent word.

e) The prepositions ‘*alā* ‘on’ and *min* ‘from’ can be shortened to ‘*a*- and *mi-* when they precede the unassimilated form of the article (*a*)*l-*: *min-a* ‘*l-baladi* or *mil-baladi* ‘from the country’, ‘*alā* ‘*l-*‘*ardi* or ‘*al-*‘*ardi* ‘on the earth’. The shortened forms occur only in poetry or in non-classical texts.

Note 2. The short form (*i*)*stahā* (*yastahī*) alongside (*i*)*stahyā* (*yastahyī*) ‘be ashamed’ (root *h-yy*, *h-y-y*) developed through dissimilation, as the *y* is dropped in forms like (*i*)*stahyaytu* > (*i*)*stahaytu*, *yastahyī* > *yastahī*.

§50. Geminated root consonants, like those that appear in II-geminate ($C_2 = C_3$) roots and in verbal stems IX, XI, are usually preserved as geminates, even when the morpheme pattern requires another arrangement of the root consonants. In morphemes that call for a *CVCV* arrangement, the sonant that is expected to fall between both identical consonants is absent if a vowel appears before *CVCV*: *radda* ‘return’ = *fa‘ala* pattern of root *r-dd*, *massa* ‘touch’ = *fa‘ila* of root *m-ss*, *dällun* ‘erring’ = *fā‘ilun* of root *d-ll*. If, however, a consonant precedes, *CVCV* is re-arranged as *VCCV*, that is, the sonant that is expected precedes the geminate: *aqallu* ‘fewer’ = *‘afalu* of root *q-ll*, *muhibbun* ‘loving’ > *mu‘ilun* of root *h-bb*, *yaruddu* ‘he returns’ > *yaf‘ulu* of root *r-dd*. Only in morpheme patterns *fa‘alun*, *ft‘alun*, *fu‘alun*, and *fu‘ulun* is the geminate group split up for the sake of morphological precision: *sababun* ‘cause’, *sikakun* ‘coins’, *durarun* ‘pearls’, ‘ununun’ ‘reins’.

Note 1. Long vowels always break up geminates: (*i*)*hmirārun*, verbal-noun of (*i*)*hmarra* ‘redden’, *takhifun* ‘lightening’ = *taf‘ilun* of root *kh-ff*, *murūrun* ‘passing’ = *fu‘ulun* of root *m-rr*.

Note 2. In morphemes that require the sequence (*V*)*CVC*, geminates as a rule cannot be preserved: *radadtu* ‘I returned’ = *fa‘altu* of root *r-dd*, (*i*)*hmarartu* ‘I reddened’ (*i*)*hmarra* (Cf., however, §52.2). If (*V*)*CVC* appears at the end of a word, the geminate can be preserved with an auxiliary vowel: *yardud* or *yaruddi*, *yarudda*, *yaruddu* ‘may he return’ (§53).

Syllable Structure

§51. The old Arabic syllable consists of three elements: an explosive, a vocalic nucleus, and an implosive element. In the explosive element, there is always a consonantal phoneme, or in certain cases, a long, or doubled, consonant. Every syllable contains a nucleus that is always represented by a sonant (*a,i,u*). The implosive element is realized by a consonant or is not

articulated. Consonantal clusters cannot appear in any syllable element. A syllable cannot begin with a sonant. Accordingly, there are only two types of syllables:

- a) open syllable: *CV*
- b) closed syllable: *CVC* and *CV̄*

Note 1. After closed vocalic syllables, doubled consonants can be realized as long consonants in explosive syllable elements: *dā|llun*, (*i|h|mā|rra*, *dā|bba|tun*, *du|way|bba|tun*). In poetry, where long consonants interfere with the rhythm, doubled consonants are reduced: *dā|llun* > *dā|lun*.

Note 2. After sonants, doubled consonants behave like geminates. The first part is classified as the implosive, and the second part as the explosive element of the syllable: *naz|za|la*, *qaw|wā|mun*.

Shortening of Syllables

§52. If a syllable-closing consonant comes in contact with a closed vocalic syllable, the syllable as a rule is shortened through elision of the consonantal vowel element: *CāC* > *CaC*, *CīC* > *CiC*, *CūC* > *CuC*, *CayC* > *CaC*: **aqām-tu* > *aqamtu*, **sīr-na* > *sirna*, **qīl* > *ql*, **lays-tu* > *lastu*. Shortening also occurs when the indefinite ending *-n* (§141) is affixed to stems ending in *-ī*, *-ā*: **talaqqī-n* > *talaqqin*, **qādī-n* > *qādin*, **fatā-n* > *fatan*, **mulqā-n* > *mulqan*.

Note 1. A similar kind of shortening takes place in **ayn* > *in* ‘not’ (§322).

Note 2. *CVCC* > *CVC* also occasionally affects non-vocalic consonants: **mundhu* > *mundh* > *mudh* ‘since’ (§300), **qatt* > *qat* in *fa-qat* ‘only’. Such shortening does occur rarely in the classical language in the perfect of II-geminate verbs: **dall-tu* > *daltu* or *diltu*, **ahass-tu* > *ahastu*.

Auxiliary Vowels

§53. If *CVCC* cannot be shortened, the syllable structure after *CC* conditions a sonant as an auxiliary vowel. This vowel can, however, occur only at the end of a word: *mass* > *massi*, *massa* ‘touch!', *firr* > *firri*, *firra* ‘flee!’,

yarudd > yaruddi/a/u ‘may he return’. The auxiliary vowel is usually *i*, infrequently *a*. It can also be *u* if the preceding syllable contains *u*.

Note 1. If there is a doubled consonant at the end of a word, either an auxiliary vowel appears or the geminate is broken up: **yarudd* > *yaruddi*, *yarudda*, or *yardud* (§50.2).

Note 2. Under certain circumstances, an auxiliary vowel can also appear after a closed vocalic syllable, if shortening needs to be avoided: **fa·āl* > *fa·āli* (§225.1), *-*ūn*, *-*īn*, *-*ān*, *-*ayn* > -*ūna*, -*īna*, -*āni*, -*ayni* (plural and dual endings), **hayhāt* > *hayhāti*, *hayhāta*, *hayhātu* ‘not!’, ‘how wrong!’.

Note 3. Lengthened auxiliary vowels also appear at the end of interjections: **uff* ‘ugh, phooey’ > *uffi*, *uffa*, *uffu* or *uffī*, *uffā*, written أَفْ أَفْ أَفْ أَفْ (incorrectly with *tanwīn*; cf. also §7.4).

§54. a) Within a phrase, an auxiliary vowel must appear before a word beginning in *CC*, when the preceding word ends in *C*; cf. §§19 ff. The auxiliary is usually *i*. After *hum*, *tum*, *kum* and the plural ending *-aw*, it is *u*. After -*i*, -*nī* (1st person singular suffix), it is *a*. It is also *a* after the preposition *min*, but only when the article follows (§21 b): *qad-i* ‘*nsarafa* ‘he has departed’, *iftah-i* ‘*l-bāba* ‘open the door!’, *antum-u* ‘*r-rijālu* ‘you are the men’, *da·aw-u* ‘*n-nisā'a* ‘they called the women’, *darabaniy-a* ‘*l-waladu* ‘the boy hit me’, *min-a* ‘*l-bayti* ‘from the house’, but *min-i* ‘*mra'atihī* ‘from his wife’.

Note 1. After *'aw* ‘or’, the auxiliary vowel is *i*: *'imru·un* ‘*aw-i* *'mra'atun* ‘man or woman’.

Note 2. Long vowels are shortened before *CC*, since extra-long syllables are not permitted: *laqū* ‘*l-`adūwa* > *laqu* ‘*l-`adūwa* ‘they met the enemy’, *'abū* ‘*l-'Abbāsi* > *abu* ‘*l-'Abbāsi* ‘the father of al-'Abbās. The orthography does not indicate the shortening. The forms are written morphemically (أَبُو الْبَّاسِ، لَقُوا الْعُدُوْ).

Note 3. An auxiliary vowel appears before the article (*'a*)*l-*, even when another auxiliary vowel comes after the article: *min-a* ‘*l-i-hijāji* ‘from the argumentation’.

b) If words beginning in *CC* occur at the beginning of a phrase, ء must precede the auxiliary vowel. The quality of auxiliary vowel is determined by the vowel of the following syllable. It is *i* before *i* and *a*, and *u* before *u* in the following syllable: (ء*i*)*sta:mala* ‘he used’, (ء*i*)*drib* ‘hit!’, (ء*i*)*ftah* ‘open!’, (ء*u*)*stu:mila* ‘it was used’, (ء*u*)*ktub* ‘write!’. The words listed in §21a always have *i*. The article is always pronounced ؑ*al-* at the beginning of a phrase.

Note 1. The auxiliary vowel at the beginning of a word is transliterated vowel plus ؑ between (): (ء*a*)*l*.

Pausal Forms

§55. Before a pause in speech, it is normal to decrease the sound of the final word. Pausal forms develop as the voice and articulation subside, and the final sound segment or two fade into silence. Sonants are completely silent in pause. Long vowels sound short, and sometimes the reduced expiratory effort produces an *h*-like sound: -ā → (i.e., sounds in pause like) -ah, -ī → -ih. The noun endings -*un*, -*in*, -*an* (§§11 f.) lose final -*n* or are completely deleted. Geminates are reduced: *firr* (§53) → *fir*.

§56. In poetry, rhyming words have the following pausal forms:

a) Words with final rhyming consonants are written with *sukün* (§6). As such, there may occur words whose contextual forms end in a consonant anyway: لَمْ يَعْلَمْ *lam ya'lam* ‘he did not know’. Similarly, doubled consonants at the end of words are simplified: *firr* (§53) → فِرْ *fir*. There can also be pausal forms with rhyming consonants whose contextual forms end in sonants (*a, i, u*) or the morphemes -*un*, -*in*, -*an*: *ya'lamu* ‘he knows’ → يَعْلَمْ *ya'lam*, *mu'tamun* ‘fed’ → مُظَعْمَ *mu't'am*. Sometimes words whose stems end in -ī also have pausal forms ending in consonants: *yurā'i* ‘he observes’ → يُرَاغْ *yurās*. Pausal forms of the feminine ending -*ah* (§57 e) can occur rhyming with -*ah*. The third-person singular suffixes -*hu*, -*hi* (-*hū*, *hī*) are read -*h* in pause.

Note 1. Pausal forms in which the accusative ending -*an* is completely dropped occur rarely as rhyming forms.

Note 2. أَلْعَاضُ (*a)l-`Āṣ*) (a proper name) is a pausal form whose stem-final *-ī* has been dropped. Its contextual form is (*a)l-`āṣī* ‘disobedient’.

b) In words with final rhyming vowels, all vowels that rhyme are considered long. The length of *ā* is normally indicated in writing by *l*, regardless of the underlying contextual form. *dammah* (§5) indicates *ū*, and و or (§7.2) is written only for morphemic *ū*. When the rhyme is *ī*, either *kasrah* (§5) or ى can be written. Under most circumstances, when ى is used, it is only when it is morphologically justified.

c) In words with final rhyming vowels, the following pausal forms are possible:

1. Words whose contextual forms end in long vowels show no pausal variation.
2. Sonants in words whose contextual forms end in sonants are counted as long vowels and thus are not dropped.
3. Noun endings *-un*, *-in*, *-an* drop final *-n* and are likewise considered long vowels. *-n* is also dropped from both *ā* and *ī* noun stems (§154 ff.), and the rhyming forms end in *-ā* and *ī*, respectively.
4. Words whose contextual forms end in consonants can take an auxiliary vowel *i* to fit *ī* rhyme. Thus, for words in which final vowels rhyme, the following pausal forms are possible:

- ā*-rhyme:
1. لَنْ يَعْلَمَا *lan ya'lamā*, contextual
 2. لَنْ يَغْلِمَ *lan ya'lamā*, contextual
 3. مُظْعَمًا *mut'amā*, contextual

- ī*-rhyme:
1. لَنْ تَعْلَمِي *lan ta'lamī*, contextual
 2. مِنْ آدَمَ *min-a 'd-damī*, contextual
 3. مِنْ دَمَ *min damī*, contextual
 4. عَمِّ *amī*, contextual or عَمِّي *amī*, contextual

- ū*-rhyme:
1. لَنْ يَغْلَمُوا *lan ya'lamū*, contextual
 2. يَغْلِمُ *ya'lamū*, contextual
 3. مُظْعَمُ *mut'amū*, contextual

§57. There is also a system of pausal forms observed in the reading of classical Arabic prose texts. The following reductions in word-final position are occasioned by pause:

- a) Sonants are dropped: *kataba* → in pause *katab*, *qāma* → *qām*, *yarmi* → *yarm* (or *yarmih*), (‘*a*)*l-kitābu* → (‘*a*)*l-kitab*.
- b) Noun endings *-un*, *-in* are dropped: *kitābun*, *kitābin* → *kitāb*; *maqālātun*, *maqālātin* → *maqālāt* (feminine plural).
- c) *-ī* replaces *-in* in *ī*-stems (§155): *qādīn* → *qādī*, *tarāmin* → *tarāmī*.
- d) *-ā* replaces final *-an*: *kitāban* (accusative) → *kitābā*, ‘*aṣan* → ‘*aṣā*, *hudan* → *hudā*, *yanfa'an* (energetic II) → *yanfa'ā*.
- e) *-ah* or *āh* replaces the feminine singular endings *-atu(n)*, *-ati(n)*, *-ata(n)* and *-ātu(n)*, *-āti(n)*, *-āta(n)* (cf. §13): *madīnatun*, *madīnatin*, *madīnatan* → *madīnah*; *salātun*, *salātin*, *salātan* → *salāh*.

In prose, orthography is unaffected by the pausal reading. Every word in pause is vocalized as in context, to the extent that vowel signs and other diacritics are used.

Note 1. When words not in context are cited in transliteration, it is usual to write the pausal form: *Muhammad*, *madīna(h)*, *kitāb*, *katab*, *sukūn* (§6), *shadda(h)* (§17), *tā’ marbūṭa(h)* (§13), etc. This manner of citation is used frequently in titles of books, for example: *Kitāb al-faraj bā’id ash-shidda(h)* rather than *Kitābu l-faraji bā’da ’sh-shiddati*.

Note 2. In transliteration of genitive constructions in “pausal transcription”, the first member is also introduced without case ending, for example with personal names: ‘*abd allāh* (‘*Abdallāh*), *imra’ al-qays* (*Imrā’alqays*); but *Abū Bakr*, *Abū l-Qāsim* because of the long vowel (§150). The feminine ending appears as the first member of genitive constructions in the form *-at*: *Hibat Allāh* (proper name), *sīrat rasūl Allāh* (title of a book).

Morphology

Root and Morpheme

§58. In addition to prefixed, infixes, and suffixed morphemes, Arabic, like the other Semitic languages, has stem pattern morphemes that determine the distribution of vowels in a word-stem. Roots, as a rule, consist only of consonants, called radicals. Vowels are usually morphologically determined. Most roots consist of three radicals, while a smaller number have four radicals. Roots with more than four radicals occur only infrequently in purely Semitic words. In pronouns, a few particles, and primary nouns (§71 f.), vowels are not morphologically determined, but are components of the root.

Separable pattern and inflectional morphemes combine with stem pattern morphemes to make up morphological units, or words. A morphologically determined word-form, or “morpheme-category”, is represented paradigmatically, according to the model developed by Arab grammarians, by the root فـلـ-لـ ('do'): فـ is the first, عـ the second, and لـ the third, root consonant, or radical. Four-radical roots are represented by فـعـلـلـلـ. Thus, a word like فضـيـلـةـ *fadīlatun* 'virtue' belongs to the morpheme-category *fa*ilatun*. It consists of the stem pattern morpheme *fa*il*, which determines the vowel distribution for the root *f-d-l*, and the feminine ending *-at-* with the nominative ending *-u* and sign of indefiniteness *-n*. يضـمـحـلـ *yadmahillu* 'he fades away' is of the morpheme-category *yaf'al3il4l4u* of the root *d-m-h-l*. The morpheme-category here consists of the imperfect prefix *ya-*, the imperfect base *-f'al3il4l4*, and the ending *-u*.

§59. Among three-radical roots are those that have consonantal vowels (*w*, *y*) or ء. They are called “weak” roots, because *y* and *w*, and occasionally ء, are replaced by vowels or completely disappear. All other roots with stable radicals are called “strong” roots. Thus, there are the following different types of roots:

- a) Strong roots with three or four different radicals
- b) II-geminate roots (*mediae geminatae*): The second and third radicals are identical and form a geminate group. (§§50; 54)

c) I-roots (*primaे hamzatae*): The phonological rules in §§40–43 apply to these. Other roots with *w* as the second or third radical are, with a few exceptions, treated as “strong”.

d) I-*w* and -*y* roots (*primaе infirmae*): Some I-*w* root morphemes are formed as two-radical morphemes without the first radical (§240). The phonological rules in §33 apply to the rest of these roots.

e) II-*w* and -*y* roots (*mediae infirmae*): In most morphemes, long vowels replace the middle radical.

f) III-*w* and -*y* roots (*tertiae infirmae*): In most morphemes, long vowels replace the third radical. III-*w* and III-*y* are distinguished only in the basic stem of the verb and in some derived nouns.

Note 1. Within Semitic roots, consonants that are alike or share points of articulation are largely incompatible. Roots with identical first and second radicals do not occur. Roots with like first and third radicals rarely occur and, when they do, usually derive from reduplicated roots: *q-l-q* < *q-l-q-l*, *s-l-s* < *s-l-s-l*.

Note 2. There are II-weak roots in which *w* or *y* are treated as “strong” radicals (cf. §245.3).

Note 3. The last radical in four-radical roots can be “weak”: IV-weak roots (cf. §251.3).

§60. Stems of “weak” roots containing long vowels are classified in the system of three-radical stem pattern morphemes according to the following rules:

a) Stems of the pattern *CāC*, *CīC*, *CūC* of II-weak roots correspond to one-syllable stem morphemes *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l* or *fal*, *fil*, *ful*, e.g., in the imperfect (§216) and morpheme patterns with *ma-* prefix (§78 a). *CāC* also figures in two-syllable morphemes with short vowels, *fa'al*, *fa'il*, *fa'ul*. In all other morphemes, *w* and *y* are treated as consonants.

Note 1. With *fi'l*, *fu'l* of II-weak roots, the phonological rule in §33 is observed.

Note 2. With *fa^al*, *aw* or *ay* usually replaces long vowel *ā* when *w* and *y* belong to the root.

b) Stems of III-weak roots occur with final *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*. *-ū* occurs only in the basic stem of verbs (§250). Noun stems have only *-ā-* and *ī-* in final position: *-ā* represents a morpheme with *a* in the final syllable of the stem (*fāl*, *fa^al*, *fi^al*, etc.), and *-ī* represents a morpheme with *i* or *u* in the final syllable of the stem (*fīl*, *fūl*, *fa^ul*, etc.).

Note 3. Stem final *-ā* sometimes represents the third radical in *fa^al*, *fi^al*, *fu^al*. Thus, these morphemes appear to be *fa^al*, *fi^al*, *fu^al* (§257 a).

Nominal Forms

§61. Preliminary remarks: Nominal forms are 1. substantives, 2. adjectives, and 3. quantitative expressions that cannot be classified as substantives or adjectives, such as elative forms and numerals, among others. Most morpheme categories can be substantival and adjectival. Only a few are reserved primarily for adjectives. Nominal inflectional endings (§§140 ff.) attach to the stem, whose form is determined by stem pattern morphemes. Additionally, suffixed and prefixed pattern morphemes may be appended to the stem.

Stem Pattern Morphemes

§62. Three-radical nominal stem pattern morphemes:

a) One-syllable morphemes:

fa^al, *fi^al*, *fu^al*

b) Two-syllable morphemes with short vowels:

fa^al, *fa^al*, *fa^aul*, *fi^al*, *fi^aul*, *fu^al*, *fu^aul*

c) Two-syllable morphemes with long vowels:

fa^āl, *fi^āl*, *fu^āl*, *fa^āl*, *fa^āul*, *fi^āul*, *fu^āul*, *fa^{ay}l*

d) Morphemes with long vowels in the first syllable:

fā^al, *fā^ail*, *fā^āul*, *fay^al*, *faw^al*, *fay^āl*, *fay^āul*

e) Morphemes with geminated second radical:

fa^{..}il, fu^{..}al, fi^{..}il, fi^{..}al, fa^{..}āl, fi^{..}āl, fu^{..}āl, fi^{..}īl, fa^{..}ūl, fu^{..}ūl, fu^{..}ayl, fi^{..}awl

f) Morphemes with geminated third radical:

fi^{..}all, fi^{..}ill, fu^{..}ull, fa^{..}āll

g) Morphemes with reduplication:

fi^{..}lil, fu^{..}lal, fu^{..}lul, fi^{..}lāl, fi^{..}lil, fu^{..}lāl, fu^{..}lūl, fa^{..}kūl, fa^{..}ak^{..}al, fu^{..}ul^{..}ul

h) Morphemes with infixated *n*:

fa^{..}anlā

Note 1. The substantive forms *fu^{..}l-un* and *fu^{..}ul-un* are variants of the same morpheme (cf. §88). *fi^{..}il-un* is an occasional variant of *fi^{..}l-un*.

Note 2. The substantive form *fa^{..}il-un* frequently alternates with *fi^{..}l-un* (§77).

Note 3. *fu^{..}ayl-un* is a diminutive morpheme (§81).

Note 4. *fā^{..}il-un* is the active participle of the basic verbal stem (§223) and is used to form the ordinal numbers (§133).

Note 5. *fā^{..}al* and *fā^{..}ūl* are Aramaic in origin. *fā^{..}ūl*, however, is also formed secondarily from Arabic roots.

Note 6. The morphemes listed above in e–g are termed “expanded” morphemes.

Note 7. *fa^{..}anlā* is a verbal adjective of the XV verbal stem (§173).

§63. Four-radical nominal stem pattern morphemes:

<i>fa^{..}lal</i>	<i>fi^{..}lil</i>	<i>fu^{..}lul</i>	<i>fi^{..}lal</i>	<i>fu^{..}lal</i>
<i>fa^{..}lāl</i>	<i>fi^{..}lāl</i>	<i>fu^{..}lāl</i>	<i>fi^{..}lāl</i>	<i>fu^{..}lāl</i>
	<i>fi^{..}lill</i>	<i>fu^{..}lull</i>	<i>fi^{..}lall</i>	
<i>fa^{..}l₃al₄il₄</i>				
<i>fi^{..}al₃l₄</i>	<i>fu^{..}al₃l₄</i>	<i>fu^{..}al₃l₄il₄</i>		

<i>fi[‘]al₃l₄</i>	<i>fu[‘]al₃l₄</i>		
<i>fu[‘]alil</i>	<i>fu[‘]ālil</i>	<i>fu[‘]aylil</i>	<i>fa[‘]ālil</i>
<i>fa[‘]allal</i>	<i>fa[‘]anlal</i>	<i>fa[‘]aylal</i>	<i>fa[‘]ālīl</i>

Note 1. Most four-radical stem morphemes have forms that correspond to the expanded three-radical morphemes (§62 e-g). In addition to these, the following correspondences between four-radical and three-radical morphemes exist: *fu[‘]lal* = *fu[‘]al*; *fa[‘]lal* = *fa[‘]āl*, *fa[‘]āl*; *fi[‘]lāl* = *fi[‘]āl*, *fi[‘]āl*; *fu[‘]ālil* = *fu[‘]āl*; *fu[‘]aylil* = *fu[‘]ayl*.

Note 2. *fu[‘]lal* has a later variant *fū'lul*: جندب *jundabun*, *jundubun* ‘locust’; also three-radical *fu[‘]lal*: سود *sūdadun*, *sūdudun*, also with classifying سودد *swadadun* ‘leadership’ (root *s-w-d*).

Note 3. *fa[‘]ālil* and *fa[‘]ālīl* are plural morphemes (§93 ff.).

Note 4. *fa[‘]anlal*, corresponding to *fa[‘]anlā* (§62.7), is a verbal adjective of the four-radical verbal stem III (§176).

Note 5. Among four-radical roots, there are very many that are derived from three-radical roots with lexicalized pattern morphemes. For example, pattern categories like *fa[‘]wal*, *fi[‘]wal*, *fi[‘]yal*, and forms with prefixed *ha-*, ‘a- or suffixed *-n*, *-an*, *-am*, *-im*, *-um*, and others belong to this class.

Suffixed Pattern Morphemes

§64. The feminine endings *-at*, *-ā* can be added to stem pattern morphemes. These endings are so named because in substantives they often mark the naturally feminine (§110.1), and in adjectives, the grammatically feminine (§113). The suffix *-ā* has an inflected variant *-āu*.

a) *-at-un* (ð §13) designates the “specific”, as opposed to the generic, i.e., it is used to form the naturally feminine, nominal forms that express the doing of an action once (*nomina vicia*), terms for things and individual units (*nomen unitatis*) of collectives (§84 a) and adjectives (§73), abstract and verbal substantives (§§73; 75), and abstract collectives (§89).

Note 1. A vestige of an old feminine ending *-t* is preserved in بنت *bin-t-un* ‘daughter’, أخت *ukh-t-un* ‘sister’ (§72), كلتا *kil-t-ā* ‘both’ (§109), ثنتان *thin-t-āni* ‘two’ (§129).

b) *-ā* (ى §10.3) is used for secondary feminine forms of adjectives (§§119; 122; 127), abstract and verbal substantives (§75 b), and, rarely, occurs to indicate things.

Note 2. Tradition varies occasionally between the use of *-ā* and *-an* to designate terms for things (III-weak nouns §69 a): معزى *miṣzā*, *miṣzan* ‘goats’ (§12).

Note 3. Occasionally, *-ā* combines with *-(a)t-* to form *-āt-un*: سعلى *sīlā* or سعلاة *sīlātun* ‘female demon’.

c) *-ā'u* (with diptotic inflection §152) forms the secondary adjectival feminine *fālā'u* (§119) and appears in terms for things, verbal substantives (§75 b), and plural morphemes (§§90; 100).

Note 4. *-ā*, *-ā'u*, *-ātun* sometimes occur as variants: سلحفى *sulahfā*, سلحفاء *sulahfā'u*, سلحفاة *sulahfātun* ‘turtle’.

Note 5. The morpheme category *fīlā'un* is masculine and inflects as a triptote (§§147 ff.): حرباء *hirbā'un* ‘chameleon’.

Note 6. In Aramaic loanwords, *-ā*, *-ā'u* occasionally represents the original *-ā* of the emphatic state: (الثلاثاء) (ا) *th-thalāthā'u* ‘Tuesday’.

§65. Additional suffixed pattern morphemes are *-ān*, *-iy(y)*, and *-ūt*.

a) *-ān* forms adjectives (§119), verbal substantives: *fā'alānun* (§229), *fīlānun*, *fūlānun* (§74), and plural morphemes (§92). Rarely, *-ān* is also a suffix on other stem morphemes.

Note 1. The original individualizing function of *-ān* is noticeably present in إنسان *insānun* ‘person’, which belongs to الإنس *insun* ‘humankind’. It also figures in the origin of many personal names, such as شيبان *shaybānū* (‘white-haired’) from شيب *shaybun* ‘white hair’.

b) *-iy(y)*, called the *nisbah*, or relative ending, expresses the concept of “belonging”. It forms adjectives (§§116 ff.) and, mostly in combination with the feminine endings: *-iy-atun*, *iyy-atun*, *-iy-ā'u*, forms abstract substantives (§76).

Note 2. *-iyy* without the feminine ending occurs only rarely as a substantive: سخريّة *sukhriyyun* and سخريّة *sukhriyyatun* ‘ridicule’. Apparently, *-iy* figures in the origin of patterns like غرقى *ghirqi'un* ‘interior membrane of an egg, egg white’ with classicizing *hamzah*.

c) *-üt* is found in loanwords from Aramaic: ملکوت *malakütun* ‘kingdom’ and infrequently in adjectives: تربوت *tarabütun* ‘navigable’. In Arabic, these words are masculine.

Prefixed Pattern Morphemes

§66. a) *ta-* / *ti-* / *tu-* form verbal substantives (§231) and infrequently verbal adjectives: تليل *tinbalun* ‘small of stature, dwarf’, تلعاپ *tilkäbun*, تلعاپ *tili“äbun* ‘joker’.

b) *ma-* / *mi-* / *mu-*: *ma-* forms nouns of place (*nomina loci*) (§78), verbal substantives (§230), and passive participles of the basic stem *mafǖlun* (§223). *mi-* forms nouns that indicate instrument (*nomina instrumenti*) (§79) and adjectives (§121). *mu-* forms participles (§224) and verbal substantives (§230), and is an occasional variant of *ma-* or *mi-* (§80).

c) *'a-* / *'i-* / *'u-* form the elative *'af'alū* (§124) and its derivative adjectives (§119). These prefixes also figure in morpheme categories like *'if'ilun*, *'ufǖlun*, *'if'illun*, *'uf'ullun*, *'ufär'ilun*, which are derived from elatives or represent phonetic variants of morpheme categories *fi'illun*, *fu'ullun*.

d) *ya-* occurs in morpheme categories *yaf'alun*, *yaf'ulun*, *yaf'ilun*, *yafǖlun*, which figure almost exclusively in animal, plant, and personal names.

Note 1. Morpheme categories formed with prefixes are mostly deverbal, less often denominal, e.g.: *mafǖlun* < **ma-fa-ǖl-un*, *mif'älun* < **ma-fi'äl-un*. All prefix patterns have in common the loss of the vowel in the open syllable (§51) following the prefix.

“Weak” Root Stem Patterns

§67. a) III-roots are often treated like III-weak roots. Variants with *w* and *y*, instead of *'*, occur especially after *u*, *i*, *ü*, *î*: خالية *khäbiyatun* or خالية *khäbiyatun* ‘jug’, مرؤة *murǖwatun* or مرؤة *murǖwatun* ‘manliness’, هدوء *hadwätun*.

hudūwun or هدوء *hudūun* ‘rest’. In order to avoid the sequence ــ (§41), plural morpheme *fa·ā·ilu* (§98) is not formed from III-roots; rather, *fa·ālā* (§99) with *y* as the third radical appears: خطية *khatrātun* ‘sin’, plural خطايا *khatāyā*.

b) With II-geminate roots, phonological rules for the treatment of geminates (§50) in nominal patterns apply only for morpheme categories with prefixes. All other morphemes are formed according to the standard three-radical pattern: سر سر *sarīrun* ‘bed’, plural أسرة *asirratun* = *afīlatun* (§100), but سر سر *sururun*; أسك *asakku* ‘deaf’ = *afīlu* (§119). Cf. §236.

Note 1. In poetry there are also morpheme categories formed on the standard pattern: أحر *aħraru* instead of أحر *aħarru* ‘very hot’ (elative §§124ff.).

§68. a) In morphemes *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l* and in *ma-fal*, *ma-fil*, II-weak roots have stems with long vowels: سوق *sūqun* ‘market’ = *fūlun*, ميتة *mītatun* (< **miwtatun*) ‘manner of death’ = *fiłatun*, حال *khālun* ‘maternal uncle’ = *fa'lun*. The stem vowel ā also appears in morphemes *fa'al*, *fa'il*, *fa'ul*: طاعة *tā'atun* ‘obedience’ = *fa'latun*, طاع *tā'un* ‘obedient’ = *fa'ilun*.

Note 1. Patterns with consonantal *w* or *y* can occur in all the above-mentioned morphemes: عوج *awajun* ‘crookedness’, معيبة *mayabatun* ‘object of rebuke’. This pattern holds especially for *fa'l*, which, as a verbal substantive, is always formed with *w* or *y* as root letter; cf. §248.

Note 2. Adjectives of the category *CāC* = *fa'ilun* sometimes also have a III-weak *fā'ilun* variant: شاك *shākun* or شاك *shākin* (§256 a) ‘thorny’.

b) All other morphemes are formed with consonantal *w* or *y*: هیام *huyāmun* ‘passion’, طویل *tawīlun* ‘long’, خون *khawūnun* ‘disloyal’, مقیاس *miqyāsun* ‘measure’.

Note 3. In *fi'ālun*, *iw* becomes *iy*, when the verbal substantive of the basic stem or the plural morpheme (§88) is involved (§33 a). The sequence *wu* (*wū*) can be replaced by *'u* (*'ū*) (§36 b): خؤون *kha'ūnun*.

Note 4. There is no *fa'īl* form of II-*y* roots.

c) Several morphemes with geminated second radical *yy* or *ww* originate in a non-classical variant of the active participle *fā'ilun* with *y* instead of *w*, (§247): قَيَامٌ *quwwamun* or قَيْمٌ *quyyamun*, قَوْمٌ *quwwāmun* or قَوْمٌ *quyyāmun* (§90), plural of قَائِمٌ *qā'imun* (non-classical قَائِمٌ *qā'yim*) 'standing'; قَيْمٌ *qayyūmun* 'permanent' (§36.2). The adjective category *CayyiC*, formed only from II-weak roots, always has *yy*: مَيْتٌ *mayyitun* 'dead' (root *m-w-t*), بَيْنٌ *bayyinun* 'clear' (root *b-y-n*).

Note 5. *CayyiC* is on rare occasion shortened to *CaYC*: مَيْتٌ *maytun* 'dead'.

Note 6. The verbal substantive *fa'lūlatun* (§248.1), formed only from II-weak roots, also always has *y*.

§69. a) In III-weak roots, the third radical of one-syllable morphemes is regularly consonantal. In morphemes with *a* before the final radical, the stem ends in *-ā*. In morphemes with *i*, *u* before the final radical, the stem ends in *-ī* (*-uy > ī* §33 b): عَمِيَانٌ *umiyān*, عَمِيَانُنٌ *umiyānun* 'blind' (§119), عَمَانٌ *amanā* 'blindness' (stem 'amā = *fa'alun*), عَمِيَانٌ *amin* 'blind' (stem 'amī = *fa'ilun*). On the inflection of *ā* and *ī* stems, see §§154 ff.

Note 1. In morphemes *fa'l*, *fī'l*, *fu'l*, the last radical can also be represented by stem final *-ā*: وَنَى *wanan* = وَنِى *wanyun*, verbal substantive of وَنَى *wanā* (يَنِى *yani*) 'weaken'. Cf. §257 a.

b) In morphemes with *-ā* in the final syllable of the stem, *'* appears between the final sound of the stem and the inflectional ending: مُقَارِئٌ *miqrā'iun* 'hospitable' (§121). Cf. §257 b. Before the feminine ending *-atun*, *w* or *y* of the root appears: سَمَاوَةٌ *samāwatun* 'tent, celestial canopy', as opposed to سَمَاءٌ *samā'un* 'heaven'.

Note 2. If the form derives directly from the masculine, *'* is preserved before the feminine ending: بَكَاءٌ *bakkā'un*, feminine بَكَاءٌ *bakkā'atun* 'crying'.

c) In morphemes with *ī*, *ū*, *ay* in the final syllable of the stem, *w* and *y* are treated as consonants. Thus, the phonological rules in §§33 and 34 are observed: خَفَّيَ *khafiyyun* 'hidden', أَبَيَ *ubayyūn* diminutive of 'father' (root *'-b-w*). Cf. on this §§256 b and 257.1.

Note 3. Sometimes, in III-weak roots compensatory forms with the feminine ending *-atun* occur instead of morphemes with long vowels in the final syllable of the stem: رُمَّةٌ *rumātun* ‘throwing’ (§90) = *fū'alatun* instead of *fū'ālun*, تَرْبِيَةٌ *tarbiyatun* ‘education’ (§257.2) = *tafilatun* instead of *tafi'lun*.

§70. a) Two-radical substantives of the pattern *CaC-atun*, *CiC-atun*, *CuC-atun* are classified as either I-w roots or III-weak roots. To I-w roots belong, for example, جِهَةٌ *jihatun* ‘direction’ (root *w-j-h*), ظَلَالٌ *lidatun* ‘contemporary’ (root *w-l-d*). See §240 c. *CuC-atun* does not exist for I-w roots. To III-weak roots belong, e.g.: اُمَّةٌ *amatun* ‘female slave’ (root *'m-w*), لِثَاتُونَ *lithatun* ‘gums’ (root *l-th-y*), لُغَاثُونَ *lughatun* ‘language’ (root *l-gh-w*). Stem pattern derivations are based on the three-radical root: اُمَّةٌ *'umayyatun* = *fū'aylatun*, diminutive of *'amatun*.

b) Several two-radical substantives also have root variants with III-h: سَنَاتُونَ *sanatun* ‘year’, diminutive سَنَاءَتُونَ *sunayyatun* (root *s-n-w*), سَنَاهَاءُ *sanhāru* ‘year of misfortune’ (root *s-n-h*), شَفَّةٌ *shafatun* ‘lip’, *nisbah* adjective شَفَوِيٌّ *shafawiyyun* (root *sh-f-w*), شَفَاهِيٌّ *shafahiyun* ‘labial’ (root *sh-f-h*).

Note 2. Substantives in the two-radical category without the feminine ending are rare. As with many two-radical substantives with the feminine ending, they are treated like primary substantives which have assimilated to the three-radical pattern (§72).

Substantive

Primary Substantives

§71. Primary substantives, that is, those substantives that are not derived from verbal roots or other nominal forms, are not associated with any one morpheme category. They are one- and two-radical, as well as three- and more-radical, words. Substantives like رأسٌ *rasun* ‘head’, قمرٌ *qamarun* ‘moon’, جبينٌ *jabīnun* ‘forehead’ are formally indistinguishable from derivatives of morpheme categories *fa'lun*, *fa'alun*, *fa'ilun*. Yet, they are not regarded as derivatives of the corresponding roots.

Note 1. Loanwords, especially those that entered Arabic in pre- and early Islamic times, have been adapted for the most part to Arabic morpheme categories, so that in form they cannot readily be distinguished from purely Arabic words: قصر *qaṣrun* 'castle, palace' < Aramaic *qaṣṭrā* < Latin *castra*.

§72. Primary substantives with one or two radicals are classed secondarily with "weak" three-radical roots (§70). In this way, denominative patterns based on the three-radical morpheme category are possible.

a) فو *fū* 'mouth' (only in the construct state §150), root *f-w-h*, e.g., plural أُفواه *afwāhun* (§100). In the definite and indefinite states, ف *famun* is used. — شاء *shārun* 'sheep' (collective; noun of individuality, or *nomen unitatis* شاة *shātun*), root *sh-w-h*: plural شياه *shiyāhun* (§33 a). — ماء *mārun* 'water', root *m-w-h*: plural مياه *miyāhun* (§33 a).

b) أب *abun* 'father', أخ *akhun* 'brother', حم *hamun* 'father-in-law', construct state أبو *abū*, أخو *akhū*, حمو *hamū* (§150), roots -*b-w*, -*kh-w*, *h-m-w*: plural آباء *ābārun*, إخوة *ikhwatun* (§89b), أمهات *ahmārun* (§100).

Note 1. The feminine of *akhun* is أخت *ukhtun* (§64.1) 'sister', plural أخوات *akhawātun*. The feminine of *hamun* is أم *hamātun* 'mother-in-law'.

Note 2. Three-radical أم *ummun* 'mother' has an extended root in the plural: أمات *ummahātun*, in addition to أمات *ummātun*.

c) اسم *(i)smun* 'name', ابن *(i)bnun* 'son', إست *(i)stun* 'buttocks' (§21), roots *s-m-y*, *b-n-w*, *s-t-h*: plural أسماء *asmārun*, أبناء *abnārun*, أستاه *astāhun* (§100).

Note 3. Older stem forms are preserved in بنت *simun* 'names', بنت *bintun* (§64.1) in addition to ابنة *(i)bnatun* 'daughter', plural بنات *banātun*.

Note 4. حر *hirun*, حرة *hiratun* 'female genitals' is *sui generis*; root *h-r-h* appears in the plural أحراج *ahrāhun*. Cf. §151.1.

d) *damun* ‘blood’, يد *yadun* ‘hand’, هن *hanun*, hanatun ‘thing, something’, شفة *shafatun* ‘lip’, roots *d-m-w*, *y-d-y*, *h-n-h* or *h-n-w*, *sh-f-h* or *sh-f-w*: plural *dimārun*, يدی *yudīyūn* (§88), شفاه *shifāhūn* or شفوات *shafawātūn*, diminutive هنیۃ *hunayhatun*, هنیۃ *hunayyatun*.

Note 5. غدا *ghadun* ‘next day’ is a back-formation from غدا *ghadan* (root *gh-d-w*), which as an accusative (§315 b), means ‘tomorrow’.

e) إمرأة *imruwun* ‘man’ (§151), امرأة *imra'atun* ‘woman’, with the article الْأَرْجُلَةِ *(·a)l-marū*, الْأَرْجُلَةِ *(·a)l-maratu*. These words have no plurals. The suppletive forms رجال *rijālun* ‘men’ (§88), نساء *nisārun*, نسوة *niswātūn*, نسوان *niswānun* ‘women’ (with no singular) are used instead.

Feminine Substantive Ending *-atun*

§73. The feminine ending *-atun* (§64 a) affixed to adjectives transforms them into substantives that designate individuals and things, as well as abstracts (see also §§84; 232)

a) *-atun* that has transformed an adjective into a substantive indicates ‘one who practices an occupation in an exemplary manner’: راو *rāwin* ‘narrator’ : راوية *rāwiyatun* ‘narrator (of poems)’, علام *allāmūn* ‘knowing thoroughly’ : عالمة *allāmatun* ‘distinguished scholar’.

Note 1. In its function of signifying the ‘specific’, *-atun* is found in intensive adjectives of the morpheme categories *fu'alun*, *fu'ālun* (§121).

Note 2. These forms ending in *-atun*, as they designate the individual, are treated as masculines.

b) In other cases, *-atun* forms words that designate things: دبابة *dabbābatun* ‘creeping’ : دبابة *dabbābatun* ‘besieging machine’, راب *rābin* ‘growing large’ : رابية *rābiyatun* ‘hill’, حسن *hasanun* ‘good’ : حسنة *hasanatun* ‘good deed’, مشكلة *mushkilatun* ‘obscure’ : مشكلة *mushkilatun* ‘difficulty, problem’.

c) Adjectives that have been transformed into substantives with *-atun* are often abstract in meaning: رذيلة *radhilun* ‘low, base’ : رذيلة *radhilatun* ‘vice, depravity’, لائم *lā'imun* ‘accuser’ : لائمة *lā'imatun* ‘censure’. Very fre-

quently, *-atun* transforms *nisbah*-adjectives into abstract substantives (§§116 f.): نَصْرَانِيٌّ *naṣrāniyyun* ‘Christian’ : نَصْرَانِيَّةٌ *naṣrāniyyatun* ‘Christianity’; cf. §76.

Note 3. On the formation of abstract substantives ending in *-atun*, see also §75 a; for abstract collectives ending in *-atun*, see §89.

Abstract and Verbal Substantives

§74. The following morpheme categories function as abstract and verbal substantives: *fā'lun*, *fī'lun*, *fū'lun*, *fā'älun*, *fī'älun*, *fū'älun*, *fā'ilun*, *fā'ülun*, *fū'ülun*. In addition, morpheme categories with *-än* suffix *fīlänun*, *fū'länun*, *fā'alänun* serve the same function. Cf. §§225 ff.

Note 1. *fā'lun*, *fā'ilun* occur as phonetic variants of *fā'lun* (§38).

Note 2. *fū'lun* is a variant of *fū'lun*.

Note 3. Morpheme categories *fū(u)lun*, *fī'älun*, *fū'älun*, *fā'ilun*, *fū'ülun* also function as collective plurals (§88).

§75. a) The feminine ending *-atun* (§73 c), in its function of forming abstracts, is also added to the morphemes listed in §74: *fīlatun*, *fūlatun*, *fā'älatun*, *fī'älatun*, *fū'älatun*, *fā'ilatun*, *fū'ülatun*, and occasionally *fā'alatun*, *fī'alatun*. These morpheme categories are usually abstracts of words that denote qualities, among other things. As such, they also function as verbal substantives of verbs that refer to qualities (§§228 f.).

Note 1. *fālatun* is as a rule a *nomen vicis* (§232). Sometimes, however, especially with verbs whose action occurs once, *fālatun* may also function as a general verbal substantive: رغبة *raghbātun* ‘wish’ from رغب *raghibā* (يرغب *yarghabū*) ‘wish, desire’. The corresponding form *fā'lalatun*, as verbal substantive from four-radical verbs, is always formed with *-atun*.

Note 2. *fā'alatun* is, like *fā'ilatun*, *fā'ülatun*, a verbal substantive variant of *fālatun*. Cf. §§38 and 257 a.

Note 3. See §77 concerning *fīlatun*, *fūlatun*, *fī'älatun*, *fū'älatun*.

b) The feminine ending *-ā* (§64 b) is used with the following morpheme categories to form abstracts and verbal substantives: *fā'lā*, *fī'lā*,

fūlā, fālā: دعوى *da'wā* 'claim', ذكرى *bushrā* 'shri' 'good tidings', جفلى *jafalā* 'everyone without distinction'. The suffix *-ā'u* occurs with *fūlā'u, fālā'u:* غلواء *ghulawā'u* 'excess' ضاروأء *dārūrā'u* 'necessity'.

Note 4. *-ā'u* is sometimes a variant of *-ā*: رهباء *rahbā'u = rahbā*, رعب *ruhbā* 'dread'.

Note 5. *-ā* forms verbal substantives from expanded morpheme categories, e.g.: *fi'il-ā, fi'll-ā, fwull-ā:* زليلي *zillīlā* 'slip, lapse', غلبي *ghilibbā*, *ghulubbā* 'conquering'.

Note 6. *fūlā'u* usually functions as a plural morpheme (§90).

§76. Originally derived from the feminine of the *nisbah* adjective (§73 c), *-iyyatun* has become a suffix in its own right for abstract substantives: عجفيه *ajrafiyyatun = ajrafatun* 'presumption, arrogance', عرجفية *unjuhiyyatun* 'arrogance, pride'. Cf. §65.2. Frequently both *fu'iliyyatun* and *fu'ulatun* occur: فروسة *furūsiyyatun = furūsatun* 'horsemanship, knighthood'. The short form *-iy-atun* occurs with *fa'āl:* كراهيه *kara-hiyatun* 'antipathy', علائيه *alāniyatun* 'openness'.

Note 1. With the feminine ending *-ā'u* in the same function is: كبريهاء *kibriyā'u* 'arrogance, pride'.

Semantic Groups

§77. Many morpheme categories can be classified in groups with associated meanings. These semantic groups are identified in part by form and in part by meaning. The most important are:

fi'lun: Objects occurring in pairs like عدل *qidlun* 'either of the two balanced halves of a load carried by a beast of burden', قسم *qismun* 'part', شبه *shibhun* 'counterpart, something like'. Cf. §229.

fa'ilun, fi'lun: Parts of the body like كبد *kabidun, kibdun*, رحم *rahimun, rihmun* 'womb', فخذ *fakhidhun, fikhdhun, fakhdhun* 'thigh'.

fi'latun: Nouns of kind or manner (*nomina speciei*) like مشية *mishyayatun* 'gait', قبلة *qiblatun* ('the direction one turns in prayer') 'qiblah'.

fūlatun: Abstracts of color and form like حضرة *hudratun* ‘greenness’, حمرّة *humratun* ‘redness’, شنعة *shun'atun* ‘ugliness’. Cf. §119.

fī'lun: Measure and size like ثقل *thiqalun* ‘heaviness’, كبر *kibarun* ‘bigness’ صغر *sigharun* ‘smallness’, عظم *qizamun* ‘might’.

fī'ālun: Implements like حزام *hizāmun* ‘belt’, حجاب *hijābun* ‘veil’, عنان *inānun* ‘bridle’, وعاء *wi'ārun* ‘vessel’.

fū'ālun: Maladies like سعال *su'ālun* ‘cough’, صداع *sudā'un* ‘headache’, عطاس *uṭāsun* ‘sneeze’.

fū'ālatun: Rubbish, leavings like براية *burāyatun* ‘wood shavings’, كنasse *kunāsatun* ‘sweepings’, occasionally *fū'ālun* as a collective (§84): براء *burā'un* ‘wood shavings’.

fā'ilā'u: Places of refuge like قاصِعاء *qāṣī'ā'u* ‘burrow of a jerboa’, عانقاء *āniqā'u* ‘rabbit warren’.

fā'ālun: Occupational terms like تجّار *najjārun* ‘carpenter’, ملاح *mallāhun* ‘sailor’. Occupations in the abstract have the morpheme category **fī'ālatun:** تجارة *nijāratun* ‘carpentry’, ملاحة *milāḥatun* ‘navigation’.

fū'alun (**fī'alun**), **fū'ālun:** Names of animals and plants like حمر *hummarun* ‘finch’, حمص *himmaṣun* ‘chick pea’, تقاح *tuffāhun* ‘apple’, رمان *rummānun* ‘pomegranate’.

fū'ālun, **fū'ālā:** Birds like غراب *ghurābun* ‘raven’, عقاب *uqābun* ‘eagle’, حبارى *hubārā* ‘bustard’.

'ufū'ālatun: Literary genres like أرجوزة *urjūzatun* ‘Rajaz poem’, أحدوة *uhdūthatun* ‘story’, أغنية *ughnīyatun* ‘song’ (§33 b).

Nouns of Place (*Nomina Loci*) and Nouns of Time (*Nomina Temporis*)

§78. a) Morphemes with *ma-* prefix *maf'alun*, *maf'ilun* are deverbal substantives of place and time. As a rule, when the verb is an *i*-imperfect, the pattern is *maf'ilun*; when it is a *u*- or *a*-imperfect, the pattern is *maf'alun* (§216): منزل *manzilun* ‘place where one alights’ from نزل *nazala* (نزل *yanzilu*) ‘go down, alight’, موعد *mawidun* ‘place or time of an appointment’

from وعَد *wa'ada* (يَعِد *yāidu*) ‘give a pledge’, مشرب *mashrabun* ‘drinking place’ from شرب *shariba* (يُشَرِّب *yashrabu*) ‘drink’. Sometimes, however, *maf'ilun* occurs when the verb has an *u*-imperfect: مسجد *masjidun* ‘mosque’ from ساجد *sajada* (يَسْجُد *yasjudu*) ‘bow in prayer’.

Note 1. II-*w* and *y* roots have ā and ī as stem vowels. ī occurs only in II-*y* roots: مكان *makānun* ‘place’ from كَانَ *kāna* (يَكُونُ *yakūnu*) ‘to be’, مصير *maṣīrun* ‘place at which one arrives’ from صَارَ *sāra* (يَصِيرُ *yaṣīru*) ‘become’.

b) Morpheme categories *maf'ilatun*, *maf'alatun*, *maf'ulatun* are formed with the feminine ending -*atun*: مظنة *mazinnatun* ‘place where one presumes to find something/one’ from زَانَ *zanna* ‘think’ (يَظَنُ *yazunnu*), مقبرة *maqbaratun*, *maqburatun* ‘grave’ from قَبْرٌ *qabara* (يَقْبِرُ *yaqburu*) ‘bury’. Morpheme category *maf'alatun* forms denominal terms for places: مأسدة *maṣadatun* ‘place frequented by lions’ from أَسَدٌ *asadun* ‘lion’. Sometimes the feminine ending is used to establish a specialized meaning: منزل *manzilun* ‘place of alighting, stopping place’: منزلة *manzilatun* ‘position, rank’.

Note 2. Morpheme categories *maf'alun*, *maf'ilun*, *maf'ilatun*, *maf'a/ulatun* also function as verbal substantives (§§230, 248.3, 257.3).

Note 3. In the derived verbal stems, the passive participle assumes the role of *ma*-formations: مصلى *muṣallan* ‘place of prayer’ from صَلَّى *ṣallā* ‘pray’ (II), منصرف *munṣarafun* ‘departure, or place, time of departure’ from مُنْسَرِفٍ *nṣarafa* (يُنْسَرِفُ *i(n)sarafa*) ‘depart’ (VII), ملتقى *multaqan* ‘meeting place, place or time of meeting’ from مُلْتَقِيٍّ *ltaqā* (يُلْتَقِي *i(l)tqā*) ‘meet’ (VIII).

Note 4. Sometimes, denominal *maf'alatun* has the meaning of a noun indicating cause (*nomina causae*) or abstract collective: مندمة *mandamatun* ‘reason for repenting’ from نَدِمٌ *nadima* ‘repent’, مشيخة *mashyakhatun* ‘office or dignity of a sheik, sheikdom’ (§89).

c) Infrequently, substantives indicating place and time are formed from I-*w* roots according to the *mifālun* morpheme category (§79): ميعاد *miṭādun* ‘appointment’ from وعد *wa'ada* ‘make a promise’, ميلاد *milādun* ‘time of birth, birthday’ from ولد *walada* ‘give birth’.

Nouns of Instrument (*Nomina Instrumenti*)

§79. Morpheme categories with *mi-* prefix *mif'alun*, *mif'latun*, *mif'ālun* are used for terms that indicate instrument: **حَلْبٌ** *mikhlabun* ‘claw’, **مَكْنَسٌ** *miknasatun* ‘broom’, **مَفْتَاحٌ** *miftāhun* ‘key’ from **فَاتِحٌ** *fataha* ‘open’, **مِيزَانٌ** *mīzānun* ‘scales’ from **وَزْنٌ** *wazana* ‘weigh’, **مَكْوَاهٌ** *mikwātun* ‘hot iron’ from **كَوْيٌ** *kawā* ‘burn’.

Note 1. These morpheme categories of II-weak roots always have consonantal *iw* or *y*: **مَعْوُلٌ** *mi'walun* ‘pick’, **مَقْيَاسٌ** *miqyāsun* ‘measure’.

Note 2. Concerning *mif'ālun* as a substantive of place and time, see §78c. Concerning adjectival *mif'ālun*, see §121.

§80. The prefix *mu-* occurs as a variant of *ma-* and *mi-* in forms that are legacies of the pre-classical language: **مَنْخُلٌ** *munkhulun*, *munkhalun* ‘sieve’, **مَنْصُلٌ** *munṣulun*, *munṣalun* ‘sabre’, **مَدْقَّ** *muduqqun*, later *midaqqun*, ‘pestle’, **مَكْحَلَةٌ** *mukhalatun*, later *mikhālatun*, ‘kohl jar’. In some cases, various vocalizations have come down: **مَنْخُرٌ** *munkhurun*, *munkharun*, *mankharun*, *mankhirun*, *minkhirun*, *minkharun* ‘nostril’, **مَغْزُلٌ** *mighzalun*, *maghzalun*, *mughzalun* ‘spindle’, **مَسْحَفٌ** *muṣḥafun*, *maṣḥafun*, *mishafun* ‘book, codex’.

Note 1. *muf'alun* verbal substantives can be interpreted to be passive participles of verbal stem IV (§230) or *mu-* variants of *maf'alun*.

Diminutives

§81. a) The morpheme *fu'ayl* is used for diminutives of one- and two-syllable morphemes with short vowels: **كَلْبٌ** *kalbun* ‘dog’ : **كُلَيْبٌ** *kulaybun*, **جَبَلٌ** *jabalun* ‘mountain’ : **جُبَيْلٌ** *jubaylun*. In III-weak roots, the third radical is always *y*: **فَتَانٌ** *fatan* ‘youth’ : **فُتَيْيَانٌ** *futayyun*, **أَبٌ** *abun* ‘father’ (root *-b-w* §72 b) : **أَبَيْيَانٌ** *abayyun*. Besides indicating smallness, the diminutive often expresses contempt, endearment, or occasionally, even enhancement.

Note 1. In II-*y* roots, the sequence *yay* may be dissimilated to *way*: **بَيْتٌ** *baytun* ‘house’ : **بُوْيَتٌ** *buyaytun*, **بُوْيَتُونٌ** *buwaytun*.

Note 2. Note **بَنِيَّا** *bunayya* ‘my little son!’ instead of **bunayy-iya*.

Note 3. *fu'aylun* is the diminutive pattern for personal names even for morphemes other than those mentioned above (§81 a): حمید *Humaydun* for أَحْمَد 'Ahmadu'. Often *fu'aylun* has become the only form of a personal name, independent of the diminutive: قريش *Qurayshun*, حُنَيْن *Hunaynun*.

b) Derivational suffixes are added to *fu'ayl* without modification: أمة *'amatun* 'maid' (root *-m-w* §70 a) : حراء *'umayyatun*, أمية *'ammatun* 'red' : حِمَرَاء *humayrā'u*, سليمى *Salmā* : سَلِيمٌ *Sulaymā* (proper name). The naturally and grammatically feminine (§§110 ff.) take the feminine ending *-atun* in the diminutive: أم *'ummun* 'mother' : أمية *'umaymatun*, عين *'aynun* 'eye' : عينية *'aynaynatun*.

Note 4. Diminutives only rarely become independent lexical entities: بحيرة *buhayratun* 'lake'. كعيب *kumaytun* 'bay horse' is a Persian loanword.

§82. a) Diminutives of four-radical morphemes are expanded from *fu'ayl* to *fu'aylil*. *fu'aylil* is the corresponding diminutive of a basic form with a long vowel in the final syllable: أكدر *'akdaru* 'turbid' : صندوق *'ukaydiru*, كذاب *'kadhabun* 'liar' : صنديق *'sunaydīqun*, كذيب *'kudhaydhībun*.

Note 1. With substantives ending in *-ān-un*, *-ān* usually figures as part of the stem; سرحان *sirhānun* 'wolf' : سريحين *surayhīnun*.

Note 2. Names of plants of the morpheme category *fu'ālun* (§77) frequently have a later form *fu'aylun*: خبار *khubbāzun*, خباز *khubbayzun* 'mallow'.

Note 3. Note that *yw* > *yy* (§33 c) in: أسود *'aswadu* 'black' : *'usaywīdu* or أسيد *'usayyīdu* (proper name).

Note 4. The plural of a small number (§100) can have a diminutive form: *'ufay'ilun* from *'af'ulun* and *'af'ilatun*, but *'ufay'ālun* from *'af'ālun*: أخبار *'ukhaybārun* 'several trivial accounts' from *'akhbārun* 'news', singular خبر *khabarun*, أثواب *'uthayyābun* (< **'uthaywābun* §33 c) 'several small pieces of clothing' from *'athwābun* 'articles of clothing', singular ثوب *thawbun*.

b) As with plural patterns (§93 b), two-syllable morphemes with long vowels *fā·il*, *fā·al*, *fā·ūl* and *fa·āl*, *fr·āl*, *fw·āl*, *fa·īl*, *fa·ūl*, etc., are regarded as four-consonant morphemes: *fā·ilun* : *fuwayilun*; *fa·i/u·ālun*, *fa·ū/i·lun*: *fu·ayyilun*, e.g.: شاعر *shāirun* ‘poet’ : شعير *shuwayirun*, غلام *ghulā-mun* ‘boy’ : غلائم *ghulayyimun*, عروس *arūsun* ‘bride’ : عريس *urayyisun* (contrary to §81 b, without the feminine ending!).

Note 5. The morphological correspondence *ā* : *uway* comes from nominal forms of II-weak roots, like باب *bābun* ‘door’ : بویب *buwaybun*.

Note 6. Morphemes *fa/i/u·āl*, *fa·ū/i·l*, etc., of III-weak roots form diminutives after the *fu·ayl* pattern: سماء *samārun* ‘heaven’ : سمّيّة *sumayyatun*, عدو *adūwun* ‘enemy’ : عدّي *udayyun*, صبي *sabiyun* ‘boy’ : صبيّ *subayyun*.

Note 7. Words consisting of more than four consonants have abbreviated diminutives: عنكبوت *ankabütun* ‘spider’ : عنكب *unaykibun*.

Number of Substantives

§83. Arabic has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. Additionally, there is a collective that is considered either singular and treated masculine, or plural and feminine. The collective plural has, moreover, an individual plural and a plural of a small number (*pluralis paucitatis*).

The basic form of the substantive appears in the singular and the collective. The dual and the so-called external plural, or inflected plural (§§101 ff.), are derived with suffixed inflectional morphemes from the singular. The collective plural and the plural of a small number have several stem pattern morphemes that are secondarily associated with singular morphemes. As such, these are called “internal” or “broken” plurals.

Note 1. Unless there is a semantic reason to prevent it, the dual and the different plurals can be formed from any singular: فرخ *farkhun* ‘young bird’ (singular) : dual فرخان *farkhani* ‘two young birds’, individual plural فرخان *firkhānun*, collective plural فراخ *firākhun*, *furūkhun*, *pluralis paucitatis* أفراخ *afrākhun*, أفرخ *afrukhun*. A singular collective can replace a collective plural: شجرة *shajaratun* ‘one tree’ (singular = *nomen unitatis* §84 a) : singular collective شجر *shajarun* ‘trees, tree (as a genus)’

(= collective plural), individual plural شجرات *shajarātun* ‘trees (as individuals), pluralis paucitatis أشجار *ashjārun* ‘(several) trees’. As a result of numerous analogical formations that have occurred in the system of plurals, in usage classical Arabic has given up the distinction among plurals largely in favor of a general plural category: collective plurals can replace individual plurals; the plural of a small number can function as a general plural. Nevertheless, the distinctive plurals can always become productive features again.

Note 2. The term “broken” plural comes from Arabic الجُمْعُ الْمُكَسَّرُ *al-jam‘ al-mukassar*. It refers to all plural morpheme categories that are not formed with inflectional endings (§§101 ff.). These are called الجُمْعُ الصَّحِيحُ *al-jam‘ as-sahīh* or الجُمْعُ السَّالِمُ *al-jam‘ as-sālim* “sound plural”. All “broken” plurals are treated grammatically as feminines.

Singular Collectives

§84. a) Generic collectives as a rule have corresponding forms with the feminine ending *-atun* to indicate individual members in a class or of a species (*nomen unitatis*): دمع *dam‘un* ‘tears’ : دمعة *dam̄atun* ‘a tear’, حمام *hamāmun* ‘pigeon(s)’ : حامة *hamāmatun* ‘a (particular) pigeon’. For substances, the individual noun indicates a piece of that substance: حديد *hadīdun* ‘iron’ : حديدة *hadīdatun* ‘a piece of iron’.

Note 1. A collective for which a *nomen unitatis* is formed is masculine. Only rarely, if the relationship of the *nomen unitatis* to the collective is construed as a singular to collective plural, is the collective treated as feminine (§91).

b) Once in a while, generic collectives that have no *nomen unitatis* occur. The collective is then understood to be the individual noun as well: طير *tayrun* ‘bird, birds’ (collective and singular), plural طيور *tuyūrun* ‘birds, flocks of birds’, ذباب *dhubābun* ‘fly, flies’.

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, these collectives sometimes have individual nouns: ذبابة *dhubābatun* ‘a fly’ (but not so for طير).

§85. Collectives referring to a multitude or masses have no corresponding form indicating the individual. In this category belong such words as: عسکر 'askarun 'army (camp)' ابل 'ibilun, 'iblun 'herd of camel, camels', غنم ghanamun '(herd of) small livestock', جمہور jumhūrun 'multitude of people'. Depending upon whether the quantity is regarded as indicating a plurality or a unit, such words are treated, respectively, as feminine or, less frequently, masculine.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic, عسكري 'askariyyun 'soldier' is the individual noun of عسکر 'askarun (§86 b).

§86. Collectives referring to persons are masculine. For the most part, however, they are treated grammatically according to their meaning as masculine plurals. Counted among them are many words of the morpheme category *fa'lun* (§228), with variants of the pattern *fa'alun*: قوم qawmūn ('standing together' =) 'people, tribe', شرب sharbūn ('drinking party' =) 'binge, drinking crowd', صحب sahbūn ('company' =) 'companions', حرس harasūn ('guarding' =) 'guard, guards', خدم khadāmūn 'servants', and others like مشعر maṣħarūn 'clan, kinfolk'.

Note 1. When *fa'lun* is used as a personal collective, its use as a verbal substantive of the basic stem is normally avoided. Cf., for example, شرب sharbūn 'drinking', قيام qiyāmūn 'standing'.

Note 2. *fā'ilun* (active participle) frequently functions as a suppletive individual noun to the personal collective: صاحب sharibūn 'drinker', ساحب sahibūn 'companion', حارس hārisūn 'guard'.

Note 3. A personal collective can have 'af'ālun (§100) as a *pluralis paucitatis* form: نصر naṣrūn 'helpers', plural أنصار ansārūn '(several) helpers' (Name of the Medinan followers of Muḥammad).

b) Collective names of tribes and people are treated as feminines: يهود yahūdūn 'Jews', هند hindūn 'Indians' and 'India', قريش Qurayshūn (the principal Meccan tribe). The related *nisbah* adjective (§§116 f.) functions at the same time as an individual noun: يهودي yahūdiyyun 'Jew', هندي hindīyyun 'Indian', قريشي qurashīyyun Qurayshite'.

Note 4. Occasionally there are special forms for individual nouns: إنسان *insun* 'human race' : إنسان *insānun* (§65.1) 'human being', along with إنسى *insiyyun* 'human, human being', جن *jinnun* 'jinn, demons' : جن *jānnun* 'demon', and جنّي *jinniyyun* 'demonic, demon'.

"Broken" Plurals

§87. Plural inflectional endings (§101) are used for only a portion of nouns to form plurals. The majority of substantives, as well as adjectives (§§122 f.), have a number of stem pattern morphemes in the plural, which cannot be derived from the singular morpheme. Only four-consonant morphemes have a consistent plural formation that is based on a singular morpheme that typically has the morphemic vowel sequence *a-ā-i* (§§93 ff.). The most likely or usual plural forms must be determined individually from the lexicon.

§88. Morpheme categories *fū'lun*, *fī'ālun*, *fū'ūlun* are used very frequently (*fā'ilun* rarely) (§74) as plural morphemes. *fū'lun* occurs mostly as plural of singular morphemes that have long vowels in the second stem syllable. *fī'ālun*, *fū'ūlun* often occur as plurals of singular morphemes that have one or two syllables with short vowels.

Note 1. See §122 concerning *fū'lun*, *fī'ālun*, *fū'ūlun* as plurals of adjectives.

fū'lun, often shortened to *fū'lun*: كتاب *kitābun* 'book' : كتب *kutubun*, *kutbun*, سرير *sarīrun* 'bed' : سر *sururun*, سقف *saqfun* 'roof, ceiling' : سقف *suqufun*, ناق *nāqatun* 'camel' : نوق *nūqun* (§36 a).

Note 2. *fū'lun* is avoided in II-geminate roots. In II-*y* roots, *uy* in *fū'lun* becomes *i* (§33 b): ناب *nābun* 'old camel' : نيب *nibun*.

fī'ālun: رجل *rajulun* 'man' : رجال *rijālun* (§72 e), كلب *kalbun* 'dog' : كلاب *kilābun*. Cf. §33 a.

fū'ūlun: عين *aynun* 'eye' : عيون *ayyūnun*, ملك *malikun* 'king' : ملوك *mulūkun*, عصا *aṣan* 'stick' : عصي *uṣīyun*, قوس *isīyun* (§§34 a; 37). Notice قسي *qusīyun*, قسي *qisīyun* (*q-s-y*).

fa-ilun: (infrequently as a plural morpheme): عبد 'abdun 'slave' : عبيد 'abidun, حمار himārun 'ass' : حمير hamīrun.

§89. a) Abstract substantives formed with the feminine ending -atun from substantivized adjectives (§73 c) that refer to persons often function as plural collectives: حَمَالٌ hammālun 'porter' : حَمَالَاتٌ hammālatun 'carrier, porters', صُوفِيٌّ sūfiyyun 'mystic, sufi' : صُوفِيَّةٌ sūfiyyatun 'Sufism, Sufis', مُسْلِمٌ muslimun 'Muslim' : مُسْلِمَاتٌ muslimatun 'Muslims in general, Muslims'.

Note 1. The individual plural is formed with the inflectional ending -āna (§102): حَمَالُون hammālūna, صُوفِيَّونَ sūfiyyūna, مُسْلِمُونَ muslimūna.

b) -atun in combination with the morphemes *fīl*, *fīl*, *fa'l*, *fi'l* and *fu'l* forms abstract collectives that function as plurals:

fīlatun: غَلَامٌ ghulāmun 'lad' : فَتَى fātīnatun, *fīyatun*, أخٌ akhātun 'brother' (§72 b) : إِخْرَوَةٌ ikhwatun.

fī'latun, predominantly with names of animals: قُرْدٌ qirdun 'ape' : قِرَادَاتٌ qiradatun, دَبٌ dubbun 'bear' : دَبَابَاتٌ dibabatun.

fa'alatun, *fa'ilun*, *fa'ilun* as terms referring to persons: طَالِبٌ tālibun 'student' : طَالِبَاتٌ talabatun, ضَعِيفٌ da'ifun 'weakling' : ضَعِيفَاتٌ da'afatun.

Note 2. With II-weak roots, *fa'alatun* is formed with stem vowel ā as well as with consonantal w or y: سَيِّدٌ sayyidun 'master' : سَادَةٌ sādatun, خَائِنٌ khāinun 'traitor' : خَوْنَةٌ khawanatun.

fi'latun: حَجَرٌ hajarun 'stone' : حَجَارَاتٌ hijāratun, جَلٌ jamalun 'camel' : جَمَالَاتٌ jimālatun (see also §106 b).

Note 3. *fa'alatun* occurs as a variant: صَاحِبٌ sāhibun 'companion' : صَاحِبَاتٌ sahibatun 'companions', specifically the 'Companions of the Prophet'.

fu'lātun with terms of relationship, etc.: عَمٌ ammun 'paternal uncle' : عَمَومَةٌ umūmatun, فَلٌ fahlun 'male animal, stallion' : فُولَةٌ fu'lūtatun.

Note 4. *maf'alatun*, *maf'ulatun* (§230) also occur on occasion as abstract collectives: مَشِيقَةٌ mashyakhatun 'office or dignity of a sheik, sheikdom, community of sheiks' from شَيْخٌ shaykhun 'elder, master, religious scholar'.

§90. Plural morpheme categories derived from the expanded morpheme category *fū'äl/fwā'l* occur almost exclusively as broken plurals of *fā'ilun*, *fa'ilun* which refer to persons. In addition, they are used on occasion as plurals of the active participle *fā'ilun*.

Note 1. Morpheme categories *fī illā*, *fī illāu*, *fī illatun*, *fī illānun*, which are derived from the expanded *fī ill*, and *mafūlāu*, which is formed from the passive participle, are cited by the Arab grammarians as plural morphemes without, however, being attested.

fu·ālun (rare): راعٍ *rā'in* 'shepherd' : إنسان *ru·ā'un* : *insānun* 'human' : توأم *tawamun* (§49 d) : *twāmun* 'twin' : أنس *unāsun*.

fūlatun (§69.3), *fā'ilun* of III-weak roots: رام *rāmin* ‘throwing, archer’ : مة *rumātun*, قاض *qādīn* ‘judge’ : رمة *qudātun*.

fu·alā·u: شاعر *shāirūn* ‘poet’: *wazīrūn* وزیر minister, vizier: خليفة *khalīfatūn* (§73 a) ‘successor, caliph’: خلفاء *khulafā·u*. See §§152 f. on the inflection.

Note 2. See §122 on *fū'ālā*, plural of *fā'lā*.

fu‘alun: ساجد *sājidun* ‘bowing in prayer’ : مُجَد *sujjadun*, باهل *bāhilun* ‘free’ : بُكْل *buhhalun*.

fu‘ālun: كاتب *kātibun* ‘scribe’ : كتاب *kuttābun*, *kāfirun* ‘unbeliever’ : كفار *kuffārūn*.

Note 4. The second radical in *fū^calun*, *fū^cālun* of II-w roots as a plural of *fā'ilun* can be *w* or *y* (§68 c): نَّائِمٌ *nā'imun* 'sleeping' : plural نَّوْمٌ *nuwwamun*, نَّوْمًا *nuwwāmun* or نَّيِّمٌ *nuyyamun*, نَّيِّمًا *nuyyāmun*.

§91. In analogy with the generic collective that takes the *nomen unitatis* ending *-atun* (§84 a), the collective plural of singular *fa^llatun*, *fa^alatun*, *fi^llatun*, *fi^alatun* is formed conversely by the dropping of *-atun*: *fa^lalun* plural of *fa^llatun* and *fa^alatun*, *fi^lalun* plural of *fi^llatun*, *fi^aalun* plural of *fi^alatun*.

fa'latun: حلقة *halqatun, halaqtun* 'ring' : حلق *halaqun, bakratun* 'reel' : بكرة *bakarun*, شامة *shāmatun* 'mole' : علاة *shāmun, 'alātun* 'anvil' : علا *'alan*.

fi'alun: حكمة *hikmatun* 'wisdom' : حكم *hikamun, limmatun* 'lock of hair' : لحنة *limmatun, limamun*, قيمة *qīmatun* 'value' : قيم *qiymun*.

fu'alun: ركبة *rukbatun* 'knee' : فوطة *rukabun, fūtatun* 'apron' : فوط *fūwatun, kulyatun* 'kidney' : كلية *kulan*.

Note 1. In the plural of *fa'latun* of II-weak roots, the vowel of the first syllable is determined by the radical *w* or *y*: نوب *nawbatun* 'change' : نوب *nuwabun*, خيمة *khaymatun* 'tent' : خيم *khiyamun*.

Note 2. The vocalization of the plural of قرية *qaryatun* 'village' : قرى *quran* is exceptional.

Note 3. *fu'alu*, with diptotic inflection (§152), occurs as plural of *fu'lā* (§127): *ukhrā* 'another' : آخر *ukharu* (§127 b).

Note 4. Individual plurals ending in *-ātun* retain in these words the plural morpheme pattern: *fa'alātun, fi'alātun, fu'alātun*. See §105 a.

§92. Plural morphemes formed with the suffix *-ān*, *fi'lānun* and *fu'lānun*, function primarily as individual plurals for animate beings. Through numerous analogical formations, however, the use of this plural formation has become widespread.

fi'lānun: فتيان *ghazālun* 'gazelle' : غزالان *ghizlānun, fatan* 'youth' : فتى *fityānun, jīrūn* 'neighbor' : جار *jīrānun*; *fi'lānun* is above all the plural of II-weak root substantives: تاج *tājun* 'crown' : كوع *tījānun, kūrun* 'wrist bones' : كيعان *kīānun, hāritūn* 'wall' : حائط *hītānun*.

Note 1. The collective plural of *fi'lānun* is *fi'latun* (§89 b): غزلة *ghizlatun, fityatun*. إخوة *ikhwātun* is the usual plural of أخ *akhun*, with the meaning '(natural) brothers'. إخوان *ikhwānun* is used in the sense of 'brethren' or 'members of an order'.

fūlānun: فارس fārisun ‘rider, knight’ : فرسان fursānun, صبي sabīyun ‘boy’ : صیان ūbīyānun or ūibyānun. *fūlānun* is frequently associated with *fūlūn* (*fūlun*): غدرن ghadīrun ‘pond’ : غدران ghudrānun (§88).

Note 2. *fūlānun* is also an extended form of adjectival plural *fūlun* (§119).

Plural of Four-Consonant Morpheme Categories

§93. a) All four-consonant morpheme categories have as “broken” plurals a lengthened stem that is morphologically marked by the vowel sequence *a-ā-i/ī*. A basic rule applies, namely, that singular stems with short vowels in the final syllables have *i* in the plural, while those with long vowels in the final syllables have *ī* in the plural. Morpheme categories formed with *a-ā-i/ī*, except for *fa-ālīlatun* (§96), are diptotically inflected (§152).

b) With regard to their plural formation, four-consonant morpheme categories are: 1. four-radical and three-radical (four-consonant) morphemes (§62 e-g); 2. morpheme categories formed with prefixes (§66); 3. morpheme categories formed with long vowels or *aw*, *ay* in initial syllables (§62 d); 4. morpheme categories with long vowels in the second syllable of the stem (§62 c); 5. three-radical morpheme categories formed with suffixes *-ā*, *-ā'u*, *-ān* and endings *-ātun*, *iyatun*, *-uwatun* that are treated like IV-weak roots.

Note 1. The basic categories *fa-ālīlu*, *fa-ālīlū* have variants with pre-fixed morpheme categories *'a-/ta-/ma-fā'īlu* and *'a-/ta-/ma-/ya-fā'īlu* and with morpheme categories with doubled second radical *fa-ā-īlu*, *fa-ā-īlū*.

Note 2. Stem final *ī* in *fa-ālīlu* of III- and IV-weak roots is treated triptonically (-*in*) in the nominative and genitive, but diptonically (-*iya*) in the accusative (§156).

Note 3. The plural of ليلَةٍ *laylatun* ‘night’ is formed from four-radical root *l-y-l-y*: ليالٍ *layālin* (stem *layālī*).

§94. *fa-ālīlu* (‘a-/ta-/ma-fā'īlu, etc.): درهم dirhamun ‘drachma’ : درهم dirāhimu, كوكب kawākibū, تجربة tajribatun ‘trial’ : تجربة tajribū, إصبع iṣbā'un ‘finger’ : أصابع aṣabī'u; (II-geminate roots) تجارب tajāribū, محال mahallūn ‘station’ : محال mahallū; (III- and IV-weak roots) أفعى afanū.

سعلة مرات *marāthin*, **أفعى** *afā'in*, مرثية *marthiyatun* 'elegy': تراق *tarāqin*, سعال *sa'ālin*, ترقوة *tarquwatun* 'collarbone' : سلامة *malāmatun*, ملام *malāmun*, ملاوم *malāwimu*, معايب *ma'āyibū*. Sometimes, however, its usual plural is formed on the pattern *fa'ā'ilu* (§98): مصيبة *muṣibatun* 'misfortune' : مصائب *maṣāibū*, منارة *manāratun* 'minaret' : منائر *manā'iru*.

Note 1. In II-weak roots, *w* or *y*, insofar as it is a root element, regularly appears as a consonant: ملام *malāmun*, ملامة *malāmatun*, 'rebuke' : ملاوم *malāwimu*, معايب *ma'āyibū*. Sometimes, however, its usual plural is formed on the pattern *fa'ā'ilu* (§98): مصيبة *muṣibatun* 'misfortune' : مصائب *maṣāibū*, منارة *manāratun* 'minaret' : منائر *manā'iru*.

Note 2. Root I-*w* words of the pattern *mif'alun* form plurals with the *w* of the root or with *y*: ميس موسى *mīsamun* 'branding iron' : موسى *mawāsimu*, ميسام *mayāsimu*.

Note 3. Some words of the pattern *mafā'ilu*, like محسن *maḥāsinu* 'good qualities', مساوى *masāwi'u* (often مساو *masāwin*) 'bad qualities' are encountered only in the plural.

§95. *fa'ā'lilu* (·a-/ta-/ma-/ya-fā'ilu, etc.): شيطان *shayṭānun* 'devil' : تصرف *taṣrīfū*, تصریف *taṣrīfu* 'vicissitudes', شیاطین *shayāṭīnu*, میزان *mīzānun* (< *miwzānun) 'scales' : میزان *mawāzīnu*, بینواع *yanbū'un* 'spring, well' : بینایع *yanābī'u*; (III- and IV-weak roots) أغنية *aghānīyatun* 'song' (§33 b): أغاني *aghānīyu*, كراسی *kursīyun* 'throne' : كراسی *karāsiyū*.

Note 1. The *fa'ā'lilu* pattern of III- and IV-weak roots can be abbreviated to *fa'ā'lilu* (§93.2): أغان *aghānin*, كراس *karāsin*.

Note 2. *Nisbah* formations are infrequently treated like IV-weak roots: بحاتي *bukhātiyyun* 'Bactrian (two-humped) camel' : بحاتي *bakhātīyu*, بحاتين *bakhātīn*.

Note 3. *mafūlun* (passive participle, §223) has the plural *mafā'ilu* only as a substantive: مرسوم *marsūmūn* 'decree' : مرسوم *marāsimu*.

Note 4. Words with *ī* in the first syllable frequently form their plurals by repeating the second radical: دواوين *dīwānun* ‘divan’ : دواوين *dawāwīnū*, دينار *dīnārun* ‘dinar’ : دينار *danānīru*, similarly بروcade *dibājun* ‘brocade’, قيراط *qīrāṭun* ‘inch, unit of measure’; regular, however, نيشان *nīshānun* ‘sign’ : نيشان *nayāshīnū*.

Note 5. Contrary to the basic rule in §93, sometimes *fa-ālīlu* occurs in place of *fa-ālīlu*: سالم *sullamun* ‘leader’ : سالم *salālīmu*, مطفل *muṭifilun* ‘mother animal’ : مطافل *maṭāfilu*. In poetry, the use of *fa-ālīlu* or *fa-ālīlu* is largely determined by metre.

Note 6. Words with more than four consonants are abbreviated in the plural *fa-ālī/īlu*: مجانيق *manjanīqun* ‘catapult’ : مجانيق *majānīqu*, عنكبوت *ankabūtun* ‘spider’ : عنكبوت *anākibū*.

§96. *fa-ālīlatun* functions as a collective plural of forms that refer to people (§89 a): جبار *jabbārun* ‘despot’ : تلميذ *tilmīdhun* ‘student’ : تلامذة *talāmidhatun*, فيلسوف *faylasūfun* ‘philosopher’ : فلاسفه *fālāsifatun*, ملحد *mulhīdun* ‘heretic’ : ملاحدة *malāhidatun*.

Note 1. This morpheme category can also occur in *nisbah* forms: بغدادي *baghdādiyyun* ‘Baghdadi’ : بغداده *baghādādatun*, مهلي *muḥallabiyyun* ‘follower of Muhallab’ : مهالله *maḥālibatun*; similarly in genitive construct names: ابرهيم *Abdu 'llāh*, ابادلة *Abādilah*, إمرؤ القيس *Imrwu 'l-Qays*, مراقبة *Marāqisah*.

Note 2. The plural *malāikatun* ‘angel’ of ملك *malakun* comes from an older form ملأك *malakun*.

§97. *fawā-ilu/fawā-ilu* is a plural morpheme of words that have *ā*, infrequently *ū*, in the first syllable of the stem. The regular plural of substantive *fā'ilatun* is *fawā'ilu*.

fawā'ilu: ناحية *nāhiyatun* ‘direction’ : قائم *qārimatun* ‘leg’ : قائم *nawāhin*, قالب *fārisun* ‘horseman’ : قالب *fawārisu*, قوالب *qālabun* ‘mold’ : خاتمة *qawālibu*, (II-geminate root) خاتمة *khāṣṣatun* ‘peculiarity’ : خواتم *tawāniyatun* ‘tunic’ : تواني *tawānin*.

Note 1. *fawā'ilatun* is also formed on the pattern *fa'ālilatun*: تونسي Tunisian : توانسة *tawānisatun*.

fawā'ilu: تاریخ *tārikhun* (< *ta·rikhun*) 'history' : طاعون *tawārikhu*, تواریخ *tawārikhu* ; طوامیر *tūmārun* 'plague' : طوامیر *tawāmīru*.

Note 2. Singular forms with long vowels in the first or second syllable originate secondarily in post-classical plurals like عوامید *awāmidu* 'columns', خاتام *khwātīmu* 'seals': خاتم *amūdun* instead of *amūdun*, خواتیم *khātāmun* instead of *khātamun*.

§98. *fa'ā'ilu* occurs in morpheme categories that have long vowels in the second syllable of the stem, especially those formed with the feminine ending -atun: سحابة *sahābatun* 'cloud': سحائب *sahāribu*, ذئابة *dhwābatun* 'lock' (of hair): ذئاب *dhawāribu* (< **dhawārību* §41 a), عجيبة *ajībatun* 'miracle' : عجائب *ajāribu*, دلائل *dalāilun* 'indication': دلائل *dalā'ilu*, عروس *arūsun* 'bride': عرائس *arāisu*.

Note 1. حراير *harāiru* (without a singular) occurs suppletively as a feminine plural of singular حرير *hurrūn* 'noble, free'.

§99. a) The plural of *fa'lā*, *fi'lā*, *fū'lā* and substantive *fa'lā'u* can be regular *fa'ālin* (stem *fa'ālī*), on the pattern *fa'ālilu*, or *fa'ālā'*, which retains the -ā suffix: ذری *fatwā* 'legal opinion' : فتاوى *fatāwin*, ذفري *dhifrā* 'camel's sweat gland behind the ear' : ذفار *dhafārin*, ذفاره *dhafārā*, عذراء *adhrā'u* 'virgin' : عذارى *adhārin*, عذاري *adhārā*.

Note 1. By analogy with the formation described in §95.1, *fa'ālilu* forms also occur, but infrequently: ذفارى *adhāriyyu*, عذاري *dhafāriyyu*.

Note 2. Occasionally, *nisbah* formations also have the *fa'ālā'* plural pattern (cf. §95.2): بحاتى *bukhtiyun* 'Bactrian camel' : مهري *bakhātā*, بختي *bakhātā*, مهاري *mahriyyun* 'Mahra camel' : مهاري *mahārin*, مهارى *mahārā*, نصارى *naṣrāniyyun* 'Christian' : نصارى *naṣārin*, نصاري *naṣārā*, نصارى *naṣārīyu*.

Note 3. The adjective pattern *fa'�ā* (singular feminine or plural, §§119; 122) mostly has the plural *fa'�ā*, variant *fu'�ā*. In several cases, the primary singular morpheme has become obsolete: يَتَامَى *yatāmā* ‘orphans’, plural of يَتِيمٌ *yatīmūn*.

b) *fa'�ā* occurs with III-weak roots in place of *fa'�̄ilu* (§98) and infrequently instead of *fa'�̄latun*: هَدَيَةٌ *hadīyatun* ‘gift’ : هَرَاوَةٌ *hadāyā*, *hirāwatun* ‘club’ : زَاوِيَةٌ *harāwā*, زَاوِيَةٌ *zāwiyatun* ‘corner, angle’ : زَوَايَا *zawāyā*.

Note 4. Note خطبَةٌ *khaṭībatun* ‘sin’ : خطاباً *khaṭāyā* (§67 a).

Plural of “Paucity”, or a Small Number

§100. The plural of a small number (3–10) *pluralis paucitatis* is indicated by prefixed *'a-*: *'af̄ulun* for *fu'�ulun*, *'af̄ālun* for *fi'�ālun*, *'af̄ilatun* for *fa'�alatun* or *fi'�alatun*, *'af̄ilā'u* for *fu'�alā'u*.

أَعْيُنٌ : نَهْرٌ *nahrūn* ‘river’ : عَيْنٌ *aynūn* ‘eye’ : دَلْوٌ *dalwūn* ‘bucket’ : دَلْوَةٌ *adlin*, أَمَّةٌ *amatun* ‘maid’ (§70a): اَمِينٌ *āmin* (§40).

Note 1. With a II-w root, دَارُورٌ *adwurūn*, plural of دَارٌ *dārun* ‘dwelling’, has the variants دَادُورٌ *adurūn*, آدُورٌ *ādūrūn* (§41 b). نَاقَةٌ *nāqatun* ‘female camel’ has additionally an alternative plural أَيْنُقٌ *aynuqun*.

أَبْوَابٌ : بَابٌ *bābūn* ‘gate’ : قَدَامٌ *qadāmun*, بَابَنْ *bābūn* ‘gate’ : أَبْوَابٌ *abwābūn*, يَوْمٌ *yawmūn* ‘day’ : أَبْيَامٌ *ayyāmūn* (§33 c), أَبٌ *abūn* ‘father’ : أَبِيَّاتٌ *ayyābiyatun* (§41 b), آبَارٌ : بَئْرٌ *birūn* ‘well’ : آبَارٌ *ābārūn*, آبَارَةٌ *ābāra* (§41 b).

Note 2. The *'af̄āl* pattern of شَيْءٌ *shayrun* ‘thing’ is treated as a diptote under influence of the ending -ā'u (§64 c): أَشْيَاءٌ *ashyā'u*.

أَجْنَحَةٌ : جَنَاحٌ *janāḥūn* ‘wing’ : دَوَاءٌ *dawārun* ‘remedy’ : أَدْوِيَةٌ *adwiyatun*, إِلَهٌ *ilāhūn* (§8) ‘deity’ : آلهَةٌ *ālihatun* (§40), (II-geminate root) إِمَامٌ *imāmun* ‘model’ : إِمَامَةٌ *ayimmatun* (§41 a).

أَغْنِيَاءٌ : قَرِيبٌ *qaribūn* ‘relative’ : غَنِيَّةٌ *ghaniyyūn* ‘wealthy’ : أَغْنِيَاءٌ *aghniyā'u*.

Note 3. A small number is also expressed by the plural diminutive: سنتات sunayyātūn ‘several years’, from سنة sanatūn ‘year’ (§70 b), نسية nusayyātūn ‘several women’, from نسوة niswatūn ‘women’ (§72 e).

“Sound” (Inflected) Plural

§101. The inflected plural endings, masculine -āna/-īna, feminine -ātūn/-ātīn, are used only to a limited extent for substantives. Adjectives (participles) used as substantives frequently take inflected plurals. As such, -āna may be used for masculines referring to people, and -ātūn for feminines referring to people and things: سارق sāriqun ‘stealing, thief’, سارقات sāriqatūn ‘thief’ (fem.) : سارقون sāriqūna ‘thieves’, سارقات سارقاتات sāriqātūn ‘thieves’ (fem.); مسروق masrūqun ‘stolen, loot’ : مسروقات masrūqātūn; مسروقات طالبيون tālibiyūn ‘descended from Abū Tālib, Talibite’ : طالبيون tālibiyūnna. Generally, corresponding “broken” plurals also occur for such “sound” plurals: سراق saraqatūn, سراق سراقات surrāqun ‘thieves’, سوارق sawāriqu (fem.).

§102. The pattern *fa-‘älun*, *nisbah*-forms (§216), and diminutives form inflected plurals exclusively and, as a rule, have no corresponding “broken” plurals: شويعر shuwayirun ‘lesser poet’ : شويعرون شويعرون shuwayirūna, شويعرات شويعرات shuwayirātūn. Exceptions are rare; cf. §§95.2; 96.1; 99.2. In addition, verbal substantives and participles of the derived verbal stems, as well as the passive participle *mafūlun*, usually have only inflected plurals: تغير taghayyurun ‘change’ : تغيرات taghayyurātūn, مسيرون musīrun ‘mentor’ : مسيرون musīrūna. *tafā’ilu* and *mafā’i/ilu* (§95) can occur on occasion as plurals for morpheme categories *tafilun* and *mufi/alun*, *mafūlun*. Occasionally, *‘afā’ilu* occurs as plural of *‘ifālun*: إملاء imlāun ‘dictation’: أمال amālin (§95.1).

Note 1. Personal names can take the inflected plural: (ا) العمرون umarūna ‘the Umars’, (ا) الظلحتات t-talaħatātu ‘the Ṭalħas’ (masc.), (ا)abalātu (§105) ‘women named Abla’; the names of months may have -ātūn: (ا) المحرمات muħarramātū, rarely (ا) maħārimū, ‘the months of Muħarram’. The plural of four-consonant names is usually *fa-‘āli/ilu*: (ا) اليرابيع yarābītu ‘the people of Banū Yarbū’.

§103. a) The following primary substantives form plurals with *-ūna*: أرض *ardūn* ‘earth’ : أرضون *ardūna*, أراضي *araḍūna* (also أراضات *aradātum*; cf. §105), أهلون *ahlūn* ‘people, inhabitants’ : إين *i bnun*, أهلون *ahlūna* (*i bnun* ‘son’ (§72 c): بنون *banūna*. In pre-classical Arabic, *-ūna* is sometimes used for the individual plural of living beings: عبدون *abdūna* : عبدون *abdiūna*.

Note 1. See §131 concerning the use of *-ūna* with numerals.

Note 2. علیّيون *illiyyūna* ‘highest spheres’ is treated as a plural, even though its origin is Hebrew *elyōn*.

b) Substantives of the pattern *Ca/i/uC-atun* (§70 a) mainly have *-ūna* and *-ātun* plural forms: كرون *kuratun* ‘ball’ : kurūna (§37.1), كرات *kurātun*; سنون *riyatun* ‘lung’ : riṭūna, رئات *riyatun*; سنة *sanatun* ‘year’ : sinūna (§37.1), سنة *sanawātun*; هن *hanun* ‘something’ (§72 d) : hanātun, هنات *hanawātun*; هنوات *hanawātun* ‘things, whatnot’, هنون *hanūna* ‘this one and that one’.

Note 3. The following words do not have *-ūna* plurals: حمة *humatun* ‘sting’ : humātun, حمات *lithatun* ‘gum’ : lithātun, لثات *lithātun*.

§104. a) *-ātun* forms individual plurals of feminine living beings: أم *ummun* ‘mother’ : بنت *bintun*, أمّات *ummātun*, أمّات *ummahātun*; ابنة *i bnatun*, ابنت *bintun*, أمّات *ummātun*; أخت *ukhtun* ‘sister’ : أختون *akħawātun*, أختون *akħawātun*; عمّات *ammatun* (paternal) ‘aunt’ : عمات *ammātun*.

b) Unless usage favors a “broken” plural (§102), all abstracts, verbal substantives, and nouns referring to inanimate objects may form plurals with *-ātun*: جهة *jihatun* ‘direction’ : jihātun, جهات *libāsun* ‘clothing’ : libāsat, لباسات *libāsātun*.

Note 1. In foreign words of recent origin, *-ātun* occurs also as a plural of forms referring to masculine individuals; باشا *bāshā* ‘Pasha’ : باشوات *bāshawātun*.

§105. a) In singulars which have the feminine ending *-atun*, *-ātun* replaces the singular ending, and in the process morpheme categories *fālatun*, *fiłatun*, *fułatun* undergo variation in the stem to *fāal-*, *fiłal-* (*fi'l-*), *fułal-*

(*fū'l-*): ضربات *darbatun* 'blow' : كسرة *kisratun* 'fragment' : ضربة *darabātun*, كسرات *kisrātun*, ظلمة *zulmatun* 'darkness' : ظلمات *zulmātun*, ظلمات *zulmātun*. The stem variation may be suppressed in *fi/w'latun* : *kisrātun*, *zulmātun*.

Note 1. There is no such change in the stem in II-geminate and II-weak roots: شدّة *shaddatun* 'assault' : شدّات *shaddātun*, هيئة *hayatun* 'form' : هيئات *hayātun*.

Note 2. The feminine plural of adjectival *fa'lun* is *fa'lātun* (§115).

b) -ātun is suffixed to -ā, -ā'u and, as a result, the phonological rules in §35 b take effect: ذكريات *dhikrātun* 'memory' : ذكري *dhikrayātun*, حبلى *hublātun* 'pregnant' : حبلاء *hublayātun*, حبليات *khadrātun* 'herb' : خضراء *khadrāu* 'herb' : خضراء *khadrāwātun*.

Note 3. Exceptionally, stem final -ā behaves in the same way in سماء *samārun* 'heaven' : سماءات *samāwātun* (§8).

Note 4. *w* or *y* appears before -ātun in III-weak roots with stem-final -ā: صلاة *ṣalātun* 'prayer' : قناء *qanātun* 'tube' : ملتقيات *qanawātun* 'meeting' : ملتقى *qanayātun*; قنوات *qanawātun*; ملتقى *multaqan* 'meeting' : ملتقى *multaqayātun* (§35 a).

Combined Plural Morphemes

§106. a) Since the plural of a small number (§100) is interpreted as a collective, its plural is formed accordingly as 'afā'i/īlu: هبط *raḥtun* 'one's people' : أرهط *arhutun* 'several of such groups of people' = 'tribe' : أراهط *arāhiṭu* 'tribes', قوال *qawlun* 'saying, doctrine' : أقوال *aqwālun* 'doctrines, sayings' : أقاويل *aqāwilu* 'groups of (common) doctrines, sayings', يد *yadun* 'hand' : أيد *aydin* 'several hands, assistance' : أيداد *ayādin* 'acts of assistance'.

Note 1. The *fa'ālilu* plural pattern for plurals ending in -ūna figures in: أرض *arḍun* 'earth' : أراض *arāḍuna* : أرضون *arāḍin* 'grounds', أهل *ahlun* 'people, inhabitants' : أهلوان *ahlūna* : أهال *ahālin* 'population'.

Note 2. بلدان *baladun* 'place' : بلاد *bilādun* 'places' = 'country' : بلدان *buldānun* 'countries' is unique.

b) Occasionally *-ātun* forms individual plurals of “broken” plurals:
 صاحبات *sāhibatun* ‘companion’ (fem.) : صاحب *sawāhibu* ; بيت *baytun* ‘tent, house, family’ : بيوت *buyūtun* ;
 حمالات *jamalun* ‘camel’ : جمل *jimālun* ; جمالات *jimālātun*; بيوات *buyūtātun* ‘noble families’.

Dual

§107. The dual indicates two individuals or examples of the same. It is formed by adding to the singular the endings *-āni/-ayni* (§147) where the case suffixes would be: عام *āmun* ‘year’ : عامان *āmāni* ‘two years’, سن *sanatun* ‘year’: سنتان *sanatāni* ‘two years’.

Note 1. When the dual endings are added to *-ā*, *-ā'*, the phonological rules in §35 a and b are in effect: فتيان *fatan* ‘youth’ : فتیان *fatayāni*, عصي *'asan* ‘stick’ : عصوان *aṣawāni*, شكوى *shakwā* ‘complaint’ : شكويان *shakwayāni*, حرباء *hirbā'un* ‘chameleon’ : حرباون *hirbāwāni*.

§108. a) Two paired persons or things can be expressed by the dual of one of them: الأبوان *(·a)l-abawāni* ‘the parents’, dual of أب *'abun* ‘father’, *(·a)l-Hasanāni* ‘Hasan and Husayn’, *(·a)l-qamarāni* ‘sun and moon’, dual of *qamarun* ‘moon’.

Note 1. Adjectives and elatives have substantive duals with enigmatic meanings: الأبيضان *(·a)l-abyadāni* ‘the two whites’, i.e., ‘water and milk’, والأبردان *(·a)l-abradāni* ‘the two colds’, i.e., evening and morning’.

Note 2. When pairs are distinguished by different attributes, the attributes are in the singular: كساءان أبيض وأخضر *kisāwāni abyadu wa-'akhḍarū* ‘two pieces of clothing, one white and one green’, i.e., ‘a white and a green garment’.

b) The dual of collectives or of collective plurals indicates duality of the example or quantity: غنم *ghanamun* ‘small livestock’ : غنمان *ghanamāni* ‘two small livestock herds’, رماح *rimāhun* (sing. رمح *rumhun*) ‘lances’ : رماحان *rimāhāni* ‘two groups of lances’.

Note 3. A *nomen unitatis* (§84 a) may form an individual dual: حمامتان *hamāmatāni* ‘two doves’.

§109. a) The dual particle كلا *kilā*, fem. كلتا *kiltā* (§64.1) is followed by a genitive or personal pronoun suffix: كلا هذين *kilā hādhayni* 'both of these', كلتا الجنتين *kiltā 'l-jannatayni* 'both gardens', or كلنا *kilānā* 'both of us', كلا كما *kilākumā* 'both of you'.

Note 1. Instead of a genitive dual, two genitives in the singular may occur: كلا السيف وال Lance *kilā 's-sayfi wa-'r-rumhi* 'both, the sword and the lance'.

b) *kilā*, *kiltā* are indeclinable in combination with substantives in the genitive: في كلا البلدين *fī kilā 'l-baladayni* 'in both places'. With personal suffixes, the oblique forms are: *kilay*, *kiltay*: بكننا *bi-kilaynā* 'with us both', في الواديين كلهم *fī 'l-wādiyayni kilayhimā* 'in both wadis'.

Note 2. Expressions with *kilā*, *kiltā* are treated grammatically as singulars: كلا العبدان رأها *kilā 'l-'abdayni ra:āhā* 'both slaves saw her'. Dual constructions *ad sensum* occasionally occur.

Gender of Substantives

§110. Substantives are classified into two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. Masculine substantives are those that are not distinguished by the feminine ending or are not treated as feminine because of meaning. Feminines by morphological form are those substantives with the feminine ending *-atun*, *-ā*, *-ā'u* (§64): مدة *muddatun* 'period of time', ذكرى *dhikrā* 'memory', فسيفساء *fusayfisā'u* 'mosaic'.

Note 1. As a feminine ending *-atun* forms feminines that refer to persons: حالة *khālun* 'maternal uncle' : فتى *khālatun* 'maternal aunt', *fatan* 'youth' : فتاة *fatātun* 'young woman'.

Note 2. Masculines ending in *-atun* that refer to persons (§73 a) are treated grammatically as masculines. Usually, حية *hayyatun* 'snake' is masculine, but also occasionally feminine.

§111. Because of their meanings, the following substantives are grammatically feminine:

a) Words that indicate feminine beings: أم *ummun* 'mother', عجوز *ajūzun* 'old woman'. Cf. for this §113.1, adjectives.

Note 1. The names of animals are treated as feminines, if the female is intended: ثعلب *thalabun* ‘fox’, as feminine ‘vixen’. Conversely, فرس *farasun* ‘mare’, when it means ‘horse’, is masculine.

b) The names of countries, cities, etc., if they are diptotes (§153): مصر *miṣru* ‘Egypt’, جهنم *jahannamu* ‘Hell’.

c) Collectives and “broken plurals” (§84 ff.).

Note 2. Generic collectives are as a rule masculine (§84.1). All collectives and collective plurals may be treated, contrary to the basic rule, as *ad sensum* plurals, if they are intended as individual plurals of living beings, especially people.

d) A series of words, such as نفـس *nafsun* ‘soul’ (§273), أرض *vardun* ‘earth’, ريح *rīhun* ‘wind’, نـار *nārun* ‘fire’, شـمس *shamsun* ‘sun’, بـئر *birun* ‘well’, دـار *dārun* ‘dwelling’, حـرب *harbun* ‘war’, as well as the names of body parts that appear in pairs, such as يـد *yadun* ‘hand’, رـجـل *rijlun* ‘foot’, عـيـن *aynun* ‘eye’, أـذـن *udhnun* ‘ear’, and still others details about which can be found in the lexicons.

§112. a) In analogy to the words enumerated in §111, many semantically related words are optionally treated as feminines, e. g.: روح *rūhun* ‘spirit’, جـهـنـم *jahīmun* ‘hellfire’, صـلـح *sulhun* ‘peace’, the names of winds like صـبا *saban* ‘east wind’, the names of body parts like سن *sinnun* ‘tooth’, the names of substances like ذـهـب *dhahabun* ‘gold’, مـلح *milhun* ‘salt’ or مـركـب *markabun* ‘ship’, by association with سـفـيـنة *safinatun* ‘ship’, etc. For gender, usage fluctuates in such cases from period to period, occasionally from author to author, so that no consistent rule can be laid down.

b) With reference to general concepts like الكلمة *kalimatun* ‘word’, الحـرـف *harfun* ‘letter, particle’, when cited in a text, words, particles, morphemes, etc., are usually feminine, less frequently masculine: ما الـحـجـازـيـة *mā 'l-hijāziyyatu* ‘the hijāzī “mā”’, الـأـلـفـ الـمـقـصـوـرـة *(·a)l-alifu 'l-maqṣūrātu* (see §10.3).

Adjective

§113. a) As attribute and predicate, the adjective agrees in gender with the substantive it modifies. The masculine is unmarked. The feminine is indicated by *-atun* (cf. §110.1) on primary adjectives that agree in gender: باردة *yawmun bāridun* ‘a cold day’, باردة ليلة *laylatun bāridatun* ‘a cold night’. Primary adjectives can form plurals with the *-ūna* (masc.), *-ātun* (fem.) endings.

Note 1. Adjectives that specifically refer to feminine qualities, as a rule, do not take the feminine ending: طالق امرأة (*i*) *mra'atun tāliqun* ‘divorced women’; nevertheless, there are rare exceptions: مرضعة *murdi'atun*, rarely مرضع *murdi'un* ‘nursing, wet nurse’.

b) Adjectives that agree secondarily have suppletive feminine and plural morpheme patterns (§119). Adjectives that do not agree have no distinguishing feminine or plural morpheme (§121).

Note 2. Adjectives can become substantives: خادم *khādimun* ‘serving’ and ‘servant, maid-servant’, باطل *bāṭilun* ‘null’ and ‘nothingness, prattle’. Cf. also §73.

§114. a) The ending of the inflected plural *-ūna* may refer only to masculine individuals, and *-ātun* to feminine individuals and to the names of things: مسلمون صالحون *muslimūna ṣāliḥūna* ‘pious Muslims’, عادات صالحات *muslimātūn ṣāliḥātun* ‘pious Muslim women’, عادات صالحات *ādātūn ṣāliḥātun* ‘pious practices’. In analogy to “broken” plurals, the names of things are usually treated in the plural as feminine singulars: عادة صالحه *ādātun ṣāliḥatun*.

b) The plural adjective forms may function independently of the grammatical gender of the modified substantive. Thus, these adjectival forms may modify “broken” plurals and collectives *ad sensum*, even if grammatically the substantives are singulars (masc. or fem.): رجال صالحون *rijālun ṣāliḥūna* ‘pious men’, نساء صالحات *nīsā'un ṣāliḥātun* ‘pious women’, دموع ذارفات *dumū'un dhārifātun* and دموع ذارفان *dumū'un dhārifatun* ‘flow-

نَخْلٌ بَاسِقٌ *nakh'lun bāsiqātun* and *nakh'lun bāsiqun* or
بَاسِقَةٌ *bāsiqatun* ‘towering datepalms’ (§84 a), قَوْمٌ صَالِحُونَ *qaumun sālihūna*
‘pious people, pious nation’ (§86 a).

Note 1. With substantives that refer to people, grammatical agreement occurs infrequently : قَوْمٌ صَالِحٌ *qaumun sālihun*, نِسَاءٌ صَالِحَاتٍ *nisā'un sālihatun*.

Note 2. The “broken” plural is frequently preferred in adjectives (§122 f.) over the inflected plural.

c) Strict agreement is the rule in the dual: رَجَلَانِ صَالِحَانِ *rajulāni sālihāni* ‘two pious men’, لَيْلَتَانِ بَارِدَتَانِ *laylatāni bāridatāni* ‘two cold nights’.

§115. Primary adjectives that agree include: 1. Participles (§§223 f.); 2. *nisbah* adjectives (§§116 f.); 3. verbal adjectives in the morpheme categories *fa'alun*, *fa'ilun* (*fa'ulun*), *fa'lun* (§105.2), *fū'lun* like: حَسْنٌ *hasanun* ‘good, handsome’, صَعْبٌ *sa'bun* ‘difficult’, مَرْعٌ *murrun* ‘bitter’; 4. intensive adjectives in the morpheme categories *fa'ālun*, *fi'ilun* like، بَكَّارٌ *bakkārun* ‘weepy’, صَدِيقٌ *siddīqun* ‘upright’; 5. adjectives in the morpheme category *fū'lānun* like عَرِيَانٌ *uryānun* ‘naked’; cf. also §119.1.

Note 1. *fa'ilun* of II-weak roots is always formed with *yy* (§68 c).

Note 2. A verbal substantive in the role of adjective does not agree: عَدْلٌ *adlun* ‘probity’: شَاهِدٌ عَدْلٌ *shāhidun adlun* ‘an honest witness’, حَلْمٌ *hulūmūn* ‘dream’: ذَكْرَةٌ حَلْمٌ *dhikratun hulūmūn* ‘a dreamlike memory’.

§116. The so-called *nisbah*-ending *-iyyun* forms denominal adjectives that indicate belonging or relationship (نَسْبَةٌ *nisbatun*): عَقْلٌ *aqlun* ‘reason’: عَقْلِيٌّ *aqliyyun* ‘rational’, مَصْرُوٌّ *misru* ‘Egypt’: مَصْرِيٌّ *misriyyun* ‘Egyptian’, أَسَدٌ *asadun* (name of a tribe): أَسَدِيٌّ *asadiyyun* ‘belonging to Asad, a member of the Asad tribe’. The feminine *-iyyatun* frequently forms abstract substantives (§§73 c; 76).

Note 1. The short form *-iy-un* > *-in* (-i §155) occurs in تهامٰ *tahāmin* from تهاماً *tihāmatun* 'Tihama' (West Arabian coastal plain), عان *yamānin* from أَلْيَمْنَ *(·a)l-Yamanu* 'Yemen', شَامٰ *sha'āmin* from أَلْيَمْنَ *(·a)sh-Sha'mu* 'Syria'. The regular *nisbah*'s عنی *yamaniyyun* and شَامِي *sha'miyyun* also occur.

Note 2. *-iyy-īna* (oblique plural §147) is occasionally abbreviated to *-īna*: أَعْجَمِينَ *'ajamīna* from أَعْجَمِيَّةٍ *'ajamīyyun* 'non-Arab'.

Note 3. See §§95.2 and 99.2 concerning the plural *fa'ālīyu* (*fa'ālī*, *fa'ālā*) of the *nisbah*-ending.

Note 4. See §§86.4; 119.4 concerning *-iyyun* in the formation of terms indicating individuals.

Note 5. *Nisbah*-adjectives can also be formed from adjectives: أَعْجَجِيَّةٍ *'awajīyyun* (pedigree of horses) from أَعْجَجٌ *'awaju* 'crooked'.

Note 6. *Nisbah*-adjectives formed from plurals that signify objects serve as names of occupations: كُتُبِيَّ *kutubīyyun* 'book dealer' from *kutubun* 'books' (sing. *kitābun*), سَاعَاتِيَّ *sā'atīyyun* 'clock maker' from ساعات *sā'atun* 'clocks' (sing. ساعَة *sā'atun* 'hour, clock').

§117. When the *nisbah*-ending is affixed, the feminine ending *-atun* is dropped: بَصَرِيَّ *baṣrīyyun* 'coming from Basrah' from البَصَرَةَ *(·a)l-Baṣratu*, عَامِيَّ *āmmīyyun* 'popular' from عَامَةٍ *āmmatun* 'common people'. On the other hand, it is added to *-ā*, *-ā'u*: دُنْيَوِيَّ *dun'yāy* 'this world' : دُنْيَوِيَّ *dun'yīyyun* 'earthly', صَحَراوِيَّ *sahrāy* 'desert' : صَحَراوِيَّ *sahrāwīyyun* 'desert-like' (§35.3). In the same way, *w* comes between stem final *-ā* of III-weak noun forms and the *nisbah*-ending: مَعْنَوِيَّ *ma'nāy* 'meaning, idea' : معنويَّ *ma'nawīyyun* 'pertaining to meaning, conceptual'. Two-radical substantives (III-weak roots; §72 a) are treated analogically: لُغَةٌ *lughatun* 'language' : لُغَوِيٌّ *lughawīyyun* 'lexicographic, linguistic, philological'.

Note 1. A post-classical *nisbah*-ending in *-āwiyyun* is added to place names with the feminine ending *-atun*: مَكَوِيَّ *Makkatun* 'Mecca' : مَكَّاوِيَّ *makkāwīyyun*, instead of classical مَكِيَّ *makkiyyun*. On occasion, *-āniyyun* occurs instead: صَنْعَانِيَّ *San'a'y* 'San'a' : صَنْعَانِيَّ *san'a'niyyun*.

Note 2. In several cases, *-ān-iyyun* replaces *-iyyun*: **فوقاني** *fawqāniyyun* 'upper' from *fawqu* 'up' (§317), **روحاني** *rūhāniyyun* 'spiritual' from *rūhun* 'spirit'.

§118. When the *nisbah*-ending is affixed to the morphemes *fa'il*, *fa'il*, they change to *fa'al*, while *fu'ayl* changes to *fu'al*: **نامير** *namirun* (name of a tribe) : **قريش** *namariyyun*, **نبي** *nabīyūn* 'prophet' : **Nabawiyyun**, **قرشى** *qurashiyun* (name of a tribe) : **قرشي** *qurashiyun*. There is no such change with II-geminate roots: **حقيقة** *haqīqatun* 'reality' : **حقيقى** *haqīqiyyun* 'real'.

Note 1. **يثربي** *yathrabiyun*, in addition to **يثربي** *yathribiyun*, are formed analogously from **يُثرب** *Yathribu* (the former name of Medina). Note also **طائى** *tāriyyun* from **طائى** *tayyirun* (name of a tribe).

Note 2. Frequently there is no change in the stem in post-classical Arabic: **مدیني** *madiniyyun* for classical **مدیني** *madaniyyun* from **المدینة** (a) *al-madīnah* 'Medina'. Nevertheless, such formations are attested early: **ردينى** *rudayniyyun* 'well-straightened spear, spear of Rudaynah'.

Note 3. *Nisbah* forms of compound names and names that belong to no particular morpheme category are shortened: **حضرمي** *hadramiyyun* from **حضرموت** *hadramawtu* 'Hadramaut' (province in South Arabia), **طالبى** *tālibiyun* 'from the family of Abū Tālib'.

§119. Adjectives that agree secondarily are: *fa'lānu*, fem. *fa'lā*, pl. *fa'ālā*, *fu'ālā* like *kaslān* *kaslānu* 'lazy', fem. **كسلى** *kaslā*, plural *kasālā*, *kusālā*, as well as adjectival *'afalu* that indicates colors and physical defects: *'afalu*, fem. *fa'lā'u*, pl. *fu'lun* (*fu'lānun*) like **أعرج** *arrajū*, fem. **أرجاء** *arjā'u*, pl. **أيضا** *abyāḍū*, fem. **عرجاء** *urjun* 'lame'; **بيضاء** *bayḍā'u*, pl. **بيض** *biḍun* (§33 b) 'white'; **آدم** *ādāmu* (§40), fem. **آدماء** *admā'u*, pl. **آدمان** *udmānun* 'light-colored'.

Note 1. *fa'lānu* and *'afalu*, *fa'lā'u* are diptotically inflected (§152). Occasionally, *fa'lānun* occurs as a triptote, from which a feminine with *-atun* is formed: **ندمان** *nadmānu* or **ندمانة** *nadmānun*, fem. **ندمانة** *nadmānatun* 'repentant'.

Note 2. Contrary to the rules of agreement (§§113 f.), *fa'lā'u* may occur only for feminine singulars, but not for plurals and collectives. *fu'lun* must always be used instead: حمام ورق *hamāmun wurqun* 'ash-color doves', بيوت صفر *buyūtun ṣufrun* 'yellow houses'.

Note 3. كميٰت *kumaytun* 'bay' (horse) and جون *jawnun* 'colorful, dark' take *fu'lun* as plural: كمت *kumtun*, جون *jūnun*.

Note 4. كدرىٰ *kudriyyun* 'Qaṭā-bird of the *kudr*-type' and جونيٰ *jūniyyun* 'Qaṭā-bird of the *jūn*-type' occur as individual nouns of كدر *kudrun* 'drab' (sing. أكدر *akdaru*) and جون *jūnun* 'colorful' (Note 3), as they are used as the names of birds.

§120. Adjectives in the morpheme categories *fa'ilun* and *fa'ülun* agree grammatically to a limited extent. As a basic rule, *fa'ilun* with a passive sense and *fa'ülun* with an active sense do not agree: عين كحيل *ayn kahilun* 'eye darkened with kohl' (§111 d), رؤيا كذوب *ruyā kadžubun* 'false vision'. Usage, however, is frequently at odds with the basic rule, and *fa'ülun* is the form that usually does not agree.

Note 1. كثير *kathīrun* 'many' and قليل *qalīlun* 'few' sometimes do not agree in the plural: رجال (نساء) *rijālun* (*nisā'un*) *kathīrun* 'many men (women)'.

Note 2. An inflected plural can be formed on *fa'ilun* when it does agree: قليلون *qalīlūna* 'few'. *fa'ülun* has only a "broken" plural, usually *fu'ulun*.

§121. Adjectives in the expanded morpheme categories *fu'alun*, *fu'älun*, *fa'älun*, *fi'älun* and *mif'alun*, *mif'älun*, *mif'ilun* do not agree. They do not vary as they modify masculines, feminines, and plurals: بنت ملاح *bintun mulāħun* (*mullāħun*) 'an exceptionally beautiful girl', فتاة مكسال *fataħ miksāl* (*mikkāħal*) 'a girl who does not need to work', نوق هجان *nūqun hijānun* (*ħejāħun*) 'well-bred camels (fem.)'.

Note 1. *mif'älun*, *mif'ilun* can have *mafā'ilu* (§95) as plural. "Broken" plurals also occur for other morpheme categories: هجان *hijānun*: plural هجائن *hajā'inu*.

“Broken” Plurals of Adjectives

§122. The following morpheme categories are used as plural masculines and feminines of adjectives:

fa·lā: حَمِقٌ *ḥamiqun* ‘stupid’ : هَالَكْ *ḥamqā*, هَالِكُنْ *ḥālikun* ‘perishing’ : هَالَّكَ *halkā*, قَتِيلٌ *qatīlun* ‘killed’ : قَتْلَةً *qatlā*.

fa·ālā, fu·ālā (for *fa·lā*, §99): سَمِيعٌ *samjun*, *samijun*, سَمِيعٍ *samījun* ‘ugly’ : سَمَاجِيٌّ *samājā*, *sumājā*; cf. also §119.

fu·ulun (*fu·lun* §88): كَذُوبٌ *kadhūbun* ‘lying’ : كَذَبٌ *kudhubun*, بَادِنٌ *bādinun*, بَادِنُنْ *badinun* ‘corpulent’ : بَدَنٌ *buḍunun*, *buḍnun*.

fi·ālun (§88): خَفِيفٌ *khafīfun* ‘light’ (of weight) : خَيْفَافٌ *khifāfun*, جَيِيدٌ *jayyidun* ‘good’ : جَيَادٌ *jiyādun*.

·af·ālun (§100): حَرَرٌ *hurrun* ‘free, noble’ : أَحْرَارٌ *ahrārun*, صَفَرٌ *ṣifrūn*, *ṣafrūn*, صَافِرٌ *ṣafirūn* ‘empty’ : أَصْفَارٌ *asfārun*.

fu·ūlun (§88): قَاعِدٌ *qā'idun* ‘sitting’ : قَوْدٌ *qu'ūdun*.

fu·alun, fu·ālun see §90.

§123. a) The morpheme categories *fu·alā'u* (of III-weak roots, *fu·alatun* §90) and *·af·ilā'u* (§100) function as masculine plurals: جَانٌ *jabānun* ‘cowardly, coward’ : جَبَانٌ *jubānā'u*, فَقَاءٌ *faqīrun* ‘poor, poor person’ : فَقَاءٌ *fuqarā'u*, كَاسٌ *kāsin* ‘clothed’ : كَسَةٌ *kusātun*, غَنِيٌّ *ghanīyūn* ‘wealthy, wealthy person’ : أَغْنِيَاءٌ *aghniyā'u*.

b) *fawā'ilu* (§97) is used as a feminine plural, but also as a common plural: نِسَاءٌ كَوَافِرٌ *nisā'un kawāfirū* ‘unbelieving women’. Occasionally, *fa·ā'ilu* occurs as a feminine plural of adjectives (§§98; 121.1).

Quantity

Elatives *·af·alu*

§124. The morpheme category *·af·alu* designates an attribute or thing as preeminent: أَكْرَمٌ *akramu* ‘especially noble, very noble, more noble, most noble’. It functions as an elative of all nominal derivatives, whatever the

root might be: أَلْحَنُ *alhanu* ‘more melodious’ from لحن *lahnun* ‘melody’, أَعْكَدُ *aqadu* ‘more knotted’ from معقد *muqqadun* ‘knotted’, أَقْلَلُ *aqallu* ‘fewer’ from قليل *qalilun* ‘few’, أَقْصَى *aqsā* ‘very far’ from قصي *qaṣīyūn* ‘far’. Often, several derivations are possible: أَكْرَمُ *akramu*. 1. ‘more noble’ from كرم *karīmun* ‘noble’; 2. ‘bestowing more honor’ from مكرم *mukrimun* ‘bestowing honor’.

Note 1. In II-weak roots, *w* or *y* is always consonantal: أَطْوَعُ *aṭwāu* ‘more obedient’ from طائع *tā'iun* or مطين *muṭī'un* ‘obedient’ (root *t-w-*), أَخْوَفُ *akhwafu*. 1. ‘more fearful’ from خائف *khārifun* ‘fearful’; 2. ‘more dreaded’ from مخوف *makħūfun* ‘dreaded’ (root *kh-w-f*), أَطْيَابُ *atyabu* ‘better’ from طيب *tayyibun* ‘good’ (root *t-y-b*).

Note 2. خير *khayrun* ‘good’ and شر *sharrun* ‘evil, bad’ also function as elatives without any change in form: ‘better, best’ and ‘worse, worst’. Only in post-classical Arabic do أَخْيَارُ *akhīyarū*, أَشْهَرُ *asharrū* occasionally occur as elatives.

Note 3. Adjectival *af'alū* (§119) is not used in classical Arabic as an elative. Paraphrases, like أَشَدَّ بِيَاضًا *ashaddu bayādan* ‘even whiter’ (Note 4), are used instead. The comparative use (§125) occurs not infrequently in post-classical Arabic: أَبْيَضُ مِنْ *abyādu min* ‘whiter, brighter than ...’.

Note 4. In combination with the indefinite accusative (§384), elatives are used in a general sense to paraphrase an otherwise ambiguous elative: أَسْرَعُ عَدُوا *asra'u adwan* ‘swifter in running’ rather than أَعْدَى *aḍā*, to distinguish it from أَعْدَى *aḍā* ‘more hostile’ from عدو *adūwun* ‘enemy’.

§125. a) The elative is inflected as a diptote (§152). As a rule, it may not take the article (exception §127) and does not, therefore, agree grammatically with the substantive that it modifies. Besides indicating a quality of preeminence, the elative also functions as a comparative. When followed by the genitive (§126), it expresses the superlative.

b) To express the comparative, the elative is paired with من *min* (§299 d) (‘than’): أَطْوَلُ مِنْ *aṭwālu min* *nakhlatin* ‘taller than a date-palm’; النَّاقَةُ أَسْمَنُ مِنْ نَاقَتَا *(a)n-nāqatu asmanu min nāqatinā* ‘that camel (fem.) is fatter than ours’. The comparative usage can also be determined

by context: أَعْطَيْنَاهُمْ دِرْهَمًا أَوْ أَكْثَرٌ *aṭaynāhum dirhaman ɻaw ɻakthara* ‘we gave them one dirham or more’, أَيْ الْمَالَيْنِ أَقْرَبُ لِعِينِكَ *ayyu 'l-mālayni ɻaqarru li-aynika* ‘which of these two possessions gives you more pleasure?’.

Note 1. In a comparative sentence, the subject of the contrasted phrase follows and is dependent on *min*, if it is a nominal phrase: أَنَا لَكَ أَشْرَفُ مِنْكَ *anā laka ɻashrafu minka li* ‘I am more respectful of you than you are of me’. A verbal phrase begins with subordinating مَا *mā* (§416): كَنْتُ أَخْوَفُ عَلَيْكَ مَا كَنْتُ عَلَى نَفْسِي *kuntu ɻakhwafa ɻalayka mimma* (§45) *kuntu ɻalā nafsī* ‘I was more fearful for you than I was for myself’.

c) The elative without the article and with or without *min* can appear in all positions in which an indefinite noun can occur, i.e., especially as predicate or in apposition to an indefinite governing form (*regens*): أَللّهُ أَكْبَرُ *al-lāhu ɻakbaru* ‘God is (incomparably) great’, لَسْتُ بِأَكْذَبٍ *lastum bi-akdhaba* ‘you are no more deceitful (than anyone else)’, مَا لَقِيْتُ نَاسًا أَقْبَحَ مِنْهُمْ *mā laqītu nāsan ɻaqbaha minhum* ‘Never have I met worse people than them’. The elative also occurs as an object: فَإِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ السُّرُورَ وَأَخْفَى *fa-innahū ya'lamu 's-sirra wa-akhfā* (Koran 20:7) ‘for He knows all that is secret (in man) and what is more deeply hidden’.

§126. The elative has the superlative meaning when followed by the genitive:

a) When the genitive is indefinite (§387), the superlative has an absolute sense: أَفْضَلُ رَجُلٍ *afḍalu rajulin* ‘the most excellent man (there is)’, أَعْلَى جِبَالٍ *alā jibālin* ‘the highest (known) mountains’. Often, a restrictive complement follows: كَنْتُ أَحْدَثُ رَجُلًا فِيهِ *kuntu ɻahdatha rajulin fihim* ‘I was the youngest man among them’.

Note 1. Note expressions with the elative such as: كَانَ أَشَدَّ شَيْءًا عَلَيْهِ *kāna ɻashadda shayrin alayhi* ‘he was extremely violent against him’, يَكْتُبُ أَقْلَى *yaktubu aqalla mā yakūnu* ‘he writes as little as possible’, أَقْبَحُ مَا يَكُونُ الصَّدْقَ فِي التَّعَايَةِ *aqbahu mā yakūnu 's-sidqu fi 's-si'āyati* ‘sincerity is worst in slander’ (fi 's-si'āyati is the predicate!).

'The more . . . the more' is expressed by using this phrase two times: **أَخْوَفُ مَا تَكُونُ الْوَزَارَاءُ**, *akhwafu mā takūnu 'l-āmmatu*, *manu mā takūnu 'l-wuzarā'u* 'the more fearful are the people, the more
sure are the viziers' (cf. also §463).

b) In the same way, the elative has a superlative meaning with the (always definite) partitive genitive (§387 b). It is always substantivized: **بأعلى صوت** *bi-a'lā sawtihī* 'the highest of the mountains', **أعلى الحال** *a'lā 'l-jibāli* 'with his loudest voice'.

Note 2. خير *khayrun* and شر *sharrun* (§124.2) are treated like elatives that do not agree grammatically: في خير دار *fi khayri dārin* ‘in the best home’, أنت خير العرب *antum khayru l-‘arabi* ‘you are the best of the Arabs’.

§127. a) With the article, the definite elative (*·a*)*l-af alu* is used for the masculine singular. As its feminine counterpart, the suppletive form *fūlā* is used. *·af alūna* or *·afā ilu* (§94) is used for the masculine plural. *fūlayātūn* or *fūlū* is used for the feminine plural. In this form, the elative is used as a substantive or adjective modifying a definite substantive: **الأصغر (·a)***l-asgharū* ‘the younger, the youngest’, **الصغرى (·a)***s-sughrā* ‘the younger, the youngest (fem.)’, **الأكبر (·a)***l-akābiru* ‘the oldest ones’, **بصوت الأعلى (·a)***l-ṣawtiḥi* ‘with his loudest voice’, **الدرجات العليا (·a)***d-darajātu* ‘*l-*‘ulyā’ ‘the upper (highest) steps’.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic, *fūlā* also appears with indefinite substantives: درجة عليا *darajatun ‘ulyā* 'a higher (highest) step'.

b) The suppletive forms *fūlā* and *fūalu* also occur with أَوْلُ *awwalu* 'first' and أَخْرِي *ākhari* (< **ākharu*) 'other': fem. sing. آخر *ākhāru*, masc. pl. آخرون *ākhārūna* and آخر *ākhārūna* and أَوْلَون *awwālūn*, fem. pl. أَوْلَات *awwālāt* and أَخْرِيات *ākhāriyat*. أَوْلُ *awwalu*, أَوْلَى *awwālu* and أَخْرِي *ākhāri* and أَخْرِيَات *ākhāriyat*, as an elative that does not agree grammatically, also appears in constructions with the genitive: أَوْلُ الْأَمْر *awwalu kitābin* 'the first book', أَوْلُ كِتَاب *awwalu kitābin* 'the first book', أَوْلُ الْأَمْر *awwalu 'l-amri* 'the beginning of the matter', أَوْلُ امْرَأَة *awwalu 'mra'atīn* 'the first woman', or الْأَوْلَاءِ الْأُخْرَى *al-marātu 'l-ālāt* 'the first woman'.

Note 2. The construction of آخر *ākhirun* follows that of أَوْلَى *awwala*. It can occur in combination with a following indefinite genitive: آخر يوم *ākhiru yawmin* 'the last (possible) day', as opposed to آخر الأَيَّام *(a)ākhira yawmu l-* 'the last day (of a series of days)', آخر مرَّة *ākhira mar-ratīn* 'for the last time' (§315 b), آخر اللَّيْل *ākhiru l-layli* 'the end of the night'.

Formulas of Astonishment *mā ,af ala*

§128. In combination with *mā* 'what', *,af ala* forms the so-called formula of astonishment. The subject follows in the accusative or as a pronominal suffix: ما أَكْرَمَ الْأَمِير *mā ,akrama l-amīra* 'how noble is the prince!', ما أَعْلَمْتُنِي *mā abghadaka ilayya* 'how loathsome are you to me!', ما أَبْخَصْتُكَ إِلَيْنِي *mā ,alamanī li-dhālikā* 'how well do I know that!'. Indeclinable *kāna* coming before *,af ala* indicates the preterite (§190): *mā kāna ,aṣbarahū* 'how patient was he!'.

Note 1. Infrequently, and only in poetry, the formula occurs without the following accusative: ما أَكْرَم *mā ,akrama* 'how noble!'.

Note 2. The formula *,af il bi-* has the same meaning: أَهُونُ بِهِ *ahwin bihi* 'how disdainful is he!'. Often it appears with the accusative of specificity (§384) or with *min* (§299 c): أَكْرَمَ بِهَا فَتَاهُ *akrim bihā fatātan* or *min fatātin* 'what a noble woman is she!'.

Numerals

§129. a) The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10 are:

For masculine

- 1 واحد *wāhidun*
- 2 اثنان *(i)thnāni*
- 3 ثلاثة *thalāthatun*
- 4 أربعة *arba'atun*
- 5 خمسة *khamsatun*
- 6 ستة *sittatun*
- 7 سبعة *sab'atun*
- 8 ثمانية *thamāniyatun*
- 9 تسعة *tis'atun*
- 10 عشرة *asharatun*

For feminine

- 1 واحدة *wāhidatun*
- 2 اثنتان *(i)thnatāni*, ثنتان *thintāni* (§64.1)
- 3 ثلاثة *thalāthun*
- 4 أربع *arba'un*
- 5 خمس *khamsun*
- 6 ست *sittun*
- 7 سبع *sab'un*
- 8 ثمان *thamānin* (§155)
- 9 تسع *tis'un*
- 10 عشر *ashrun*

Note 1. *wāhidun* is an adjective: قرية واحدة *qaryatun wāhidatun* ‘a single village’ (§141 b). When used as a substantive, ‘one’ is أَحَد *aḥadun*, fem. إِحدى *ihdā*: أَحَدُهُم *aḥaduhum* ‘one of them’. Cf. also §131.1.

Note 2. (‘i)*thnāni* has the dual inflection (§147). It can appear with the dual for emphasis: قريتان اثنتان *qaryatāni* *thnatāni* ‘two villages’.

b) The numbers 3–10 have forms with *-atun* in combination with masculine counted substantives, the basic form with feminines. This also holds true when the counted is unnamed: هؤلاء الثلاثة *hārūlāri* *th-thalāthatu* ‘these three (men)’, *madat* ماضت أربع *arbaun* ‘four (nights) passed’. The substantive follows the numeral in the genitive plural: سبع سارقات *sab'u sāriqātin* ‘seven thieves (fem.)’. With “broken” plurals, the gender of the singular governs: خمس نساء *khamsatu rijālin* ‘five men’, خمس رجال *khamsu nisā'in* ‘five women’. A personal pronoun suffix may appear instead of a substantive: ثلاثة *thalāthatuhum* ‘the three of them’. The numbers can follow as attributives: النساء *al-nisā'i* الثماني *thamāniyatun* ‘eight men’, رجال *thamāniyah* *rijālun* *thamāniyatun* ‘eight men’, (‘a)n-nisā'u *th-thamāni* ‘the eight women’. On the agreement in such constructions, see §§354; 399.

Note 3. Collectives can occur in the genitive singular: عشرة رهط *asharatu rahṭin* ‘ten persons’.

Note 4. To make numerical expressions definite, the article is placed either before the substantive, before the number, or even before both: تسع الكتب *tis'atu l-kutubi*, or التسعة كتب *(‘a)t-tis'atu kutubin*, or التسعة الكتب *(‘a)t-tis'atu l-kutubi* ‘the nine books’.

Note 5. Forms of the numerals ending in *-atun* are used to express abstract numbers and, like proper names, are inflected diptotically (§152): ستة أكثر من خمسة *sittatu aktharu min khamsata* ‘six is more than five’.

Note 6. Similarly, بضع *bid'un* ‘several’ occurs with the genitive: بضم *bid'u* *rijālin* (*nisā'in*) ‘several men (women)’. See also §130.2.

§130. a) The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 are:

For masculine

For feminine

11	أَحَدْ عَشْرَ <i>aḥada ḥashara</i>	إِحْدَى عَشْرَةً <i>iḥdā ḥashrata</i>
12	(<i>i</i>) اثْنَا عَشْرَ <i>thnā ḥashara</i>	(<i>i</i>) اثْنَتَا عَشْرَةً <i>thnatā ḥashrata</i>
13	ثَلَاثَةُ عَشْرَ <i>thalāthā ḥashara</i>	ثَلَاثَةُ عَشْرَةً <i>thalāthā ḥashrata</i>
14	أَرْبَعَةُ عَشْرَ <i>arba'ātā ḥashara</i>	أَرْبَعَةُ عَشْرَةً <i>arba'ātā ḥashrata</i>
15	خَمْسَةُ عَشْرَ <i>khamsatā ḥashara</i>	خَمْسَةُ عَشْرَةً <i>khamsa ḥashrata</i>
16	سَتَّةُ عَشْرَ <i>sittatā ḥashara</i>	سَتَّةُ عَشْرَةً <i>sitta ḥashrata</i>
17	سَبْعَةُ عَشْرَ <i>sab'atā ḥashara</i>	سَبْعَةُ عَشْرَةً <i>sab'a ḥashrata</i>
18	ثَمَانِيَةُ عَشْرَ <i>thamāniyatā ḥashara</i>	ثَمَانِيَةُ عَشْرَةً <i>thamāniya ḥashrata</i>
19	تَسْعَةُ عَشْرَ <i>tis'atā ḥashara</i>	تَسْعَةُ عَشْرَةً <i>tis'a ḥashrata</i>

Note 1. The oblique of “12” is اثْنَيْ عَشْرَةً (*i*) *thnayatā ḥashrata*, اثْنَيْ عَشْرَةً (*i*) *thnatayatā ḥashrata*. The rest of the numbers, 11 and 13–19, do not vary with case.

Note 2. بَضْعَةُ عَشْرَ *bid'un* (§129.6) is treated analogously: *bid'ata ḥashara*, بَضْعَةُ عَشْرَةً *bid'a ḥashrata* ‘ten plus several’.

b) The counted follows the number in the indefinite accusative singular: سَتَّةُ عَشْرَ رَجُلًا *sittata ḥashara rajulan* ‘sixteen men’. The article always precedes the number in this construction: السَّبْعَةُ عَشْرَ لَيْلَةً (*a*) *s-sab'a ḥashrata laylatan* ‘the seventeen nights’.

§131. The plural ending *-ūna/-īna* (§101) indicates the tens: خَمْسُونَ *ishrūna* 20, أَرْبَعُونَ *arba'ūna* 40, ثَلَاثُونَ *thalāthūna* 30, كَمْسُونَ *khamsūna* 50, سَتُّونَ *sittūna* 60, سَبْعُونَ *sabūna* 70, ثَمَانُونَ *thamānūna* 80, تَسْعُونَ *tis'ūna* 90. The units come before the tens, and the counted follows in the indefinite accusative singular: وَاحِدٌ وَ عَشْرُونَ رَجُلًا *wāhidun wa-ihrūna rajulan* ‘twenty-one men’, ثَمَانِيَةُ عَشْرَ لَيْلَةً *thamāniyatā wa-ihrūna laylatan* ‘twenty-eight nights’. The article precedes the units and tens: بَعْدَ التَّسْعَةِ وَالْتَّسْعِينِ يَوْمًا *bada' t-tis'ati wa-t-tis'ina yawman* ‘after ninety-nine days’.

Note 1. In combination with larger numbers, “one” is always expressed by واحد *wāhidun*. See §399 concerning agreement in numerical expressions.

§132. a) Hundreds: مائة *miyatun* 100 (§15.4), مائة *miyatāni* 200, ثلاثة *thalāthu miyatun* 300, أربع مائة *arba'u miyatun* 400, etc. (also written ألفان *alfan*, أربعمائة *al-famātah*, etc.). Thousands: ألف *alfun* 1,000, ألفان *al-fāni* 2,000, أربعة آلاف *thalāthatu alāfin* 3,000 (§100), أربعة عشر ألفاً *arba'atu alāfin* 4,000, أحد عشر ألفاً *ahada ashara alfan* 11,000.

b) The counted follows the hundreds and the thousands in the genitive singular: ستة آلاف درهم سـتـة الـافـ درـهـم *sittatu alāfi dirhamin* '6,000 dirhams'. In compound numerals, the hundreds and the thousands usually, but not always, precede the lower numerals. The case and number of the counted is determined by the immediately preceding numeral: واحد ومائة رجل واحد وـمائـة رـجـل *wāhidun wa-miyatu rajulin* '101 men', ألف وثمانين مائة وأربع سنين ألف وـثـيـانـيـة مـائـة وـأـرـبـعـ سنـين *alfun wa-thamāni miyatun wa-arba'u sinīna* '1,804 years'.

Note 1. The plural forms مئات *miyatun*, مئون *miyūna* (§103 b) 'hundreds', أولف *ulūfun* 'thousands' occur with the genitive plural: مئـوـسـنـين *miyū sinīna* 'hundreds of years'.

Note 2. To make these numerical expressions definite, as with the ones (§129.4), the article is placed either before the substantive, before the number, or before both: المائة ناقة *miyatū 'n-nāqati*, or المائة نـاقـة *(a)l-miyatū nāqatin*, or المائة النـاقـة *(a)l-miyatū 'n-nāqati* 'the hundred camels'.

§133. a) The ordinal numbers from 2–10 are in the adjectival morpheme category *fā'ilun*, fem. *fā'ilatun*: أول *awwalu*, fem. *awwālu* 'first' (§127 b), ثان *thānin*, fem. *thāniyatun* 'second', ثالث *thālithun* 'third', رابع *rābi'un* 'fourth', خامس *khāmisun* 'fifth', سادس *sādisun* 'sixth', سابع *sābirun* 'seventh', ثامن *thāminun* 'eighth', تاسع *tāsi'un* 'ninth', عاشر *ashirun* 'tenth'.

b) The ordinal numbers 11–19 correspond to the cardinals inasmuch as they are indeclinable: حادي عشر *hādiya ashara*, fem. *hādiyatā* 'eleventh', ثانية عشرة *thāniya ashara*, fem. *thāniyatā* 'twelfth', ثالث عشر *thālitha ashara*, fem. *thālithatā* 'thirteenth', etc.: الليلة التاسعة عشرة *(a)l-laylatu 't-tāsi'ata ashrata* 'the nineteenth night'.

c) From 20 up, the ones are in the morpheme category *fā'ilun*, *-atun*, while the tens, hundreds, thousands have the form of the cardinal: حاد وعشرون *ḥādīn wa-iṣhrūna* 'twenty-first', الثانى والخمسون *al-thāni wa-khamṣūna* 'the second-fifth', الالية الخامسة والتسعون *al-laylatu l-khamsatūn* 'the fifth-hundred', الليلة الحادية والتسعون *al-laylatu l-hādiyatūn* 'the first-hundred and seventy-first night'.

Note 1. As is typical of all large numbers, cardinal numbers replace the ordinal when referring to dates. In such constructions, the cardinal is in the genitive after the counted substantive: في سنة ألف ومائتين وثلاثة وستين *fi sanati 'alfi wa-mi'aatin w-thalathat w-sittinā* 'in the year 1263'.

Note 2. The adverbial accusative of ordinal numbers (§315): أولاً *awwalan*, ثانياً *thāniyan*, ثالثاً *thalāthān*, etc., has the meaning 'firstly', 'first', 'secondly', 'thirdly', etc.

§134. Fractions have the morpheme category *fu'lun* (*fu'ulun*), pl. *'afā'lun*: ثلث *thulthun* 'a third', ربع *rub'un* 'a quarter', سدس *sudsun* 'a sixth', ثمانون *thumānnun* 'an eighth', etc.; *thulthāni* 'two-thirds', *thalāthātu* 'three-quarters'.

§135. The distributive numbers have the morpheme category *fu'alu* or *maf'alu* with diptotic inflection (§152): شاء *thunā'u*, مثنى *mathnā* 'two at a time', ثلث *thulāthu*, مثلث *mathlāthu* 'three at a time', etc. 'Alone' is expressed by وحد *wahda-*, always with a personal pronominal suffix, and it generally follows in apposition in the accusative: أبوك وحده *abūka wahdahū* 'your father alone', بقينا وحدنا *baqīnā wahdanā* 'we remained alone'.

Note 1. Distributive adjectives are frequently expressed by repeating the number: جاءوا اثنين أو ثلاثة *jā'ū 'thnayni 'thnayni 'aw thalāthatan* *thalāthatan* 'they came two or three at a time'.

Note 2. Adjectival *fu'āliyyun* (§116) is formed from *fu'alu*: *thalāthiyun* 'three-part', *rubā'iyyun* 'four-part, quadrilateral'.

Totality

§136. كُلَّ *kullun* ‘each, every, all’: كُلَّ قد ذهب *kullun qad dhahaba* ‘everyone has left’; usually with the genitive: كُلَّ إِنْسَانٍ *kullu :insānin* ‘every human’, كُلَّ الْإِنْسَانِ *kullu :l-insāni* ‘the entire human being’, كُلَّ النَّاسِ *kullu :n-nāsi* ‘all mankind’. In emphatic apposition: كُلَّ الْقَوْمَ *(:)a(l-qawmu* *kullu al-qawmi* ‘the one and only people’. As a permutative in apposition (§395) *kullu* often follows with a personal pronoun suffix: الْيَوْمَ كَلَهُ *(:)a(l-yawmu* *kulluhū* ‘the whole day’. See §353 for gender agreement.

Note 1. Post-classical *kullun* is occasionally a substantive: كُلَّ *kullun* ‘a whole’, الْكُلُّ *(:)a(l-kullu* ‘the whole’ (§144.2).

Note 2. In combination with numbers, *kullun* has a distributive sense: فِي كُلِّ سَبْعَةِ أَيَّامٍ مَرَّةٌ *fi kulli sab‘ati ayyāmin marratan* ‘once every seven days’. In pre-classical Arabic, it sometimes has the meaning ‘every, all, possible’: عَلَى كُلِّ فَرْسٍ *alā kulli farasīn* ‘on all kinds of horses’.

§137. جَمِيعٌ *jamī‘un* ‘totality’ usually occurs in constructions with the definite genitive: جَمِيعُ أَمْرِ النَّاسِ *jamī‘u :n-nāsi* ‘all mankind’, جَمِيعُ أَمْرِ رَمْرِيَّهِ *jamī‘u :ramriyyih* ‘his entire affair’. The conditional accusative جَمِيعًا *jamī‘an* ‘altogether, completely’ can follow in apposition: أَهْلُ نَجْدٍ جَمِيعًا *:ahlu najdin jamī‘an* ‘the people of the Najd, altogether’, أَمْرُنَا جَمِيعًا *:amrunā jamī‘an* ‘our affair, all of us’.

Note 1. Similarly, عَامَةٌ *āmmatun* and كَافَةٌ *kāffatun* ‘encompassing, totality’ are used like *jamī‘un*: النَّاسُ كَافَةٌ *n-nāsi kāffatu* ‘n-nāsi ‘the totality of mankind’, النَّاسُ عَامَةٌ *(:)a(n-nāsu āmmatun* (kāffatu) ‘mankind in its entirety’.

§138. أَجْمَعُونَ *ajma‘ūn*, fem. جَمِيعَاءٍ *jamī‘ān*, pl. أَجْمَعَ *ajma‘u*, fem. *ajma‘ūna* ‘entire, whole, all’ occurs in apposition to substantives but never takes the article: الْمَلَائِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ *malāikatu kulluhum ajma‘ūna* (Koran 15:30, 38:73) ‘all the angels altogether’. In apposition to a personal pronominal suffix: هَدَاكُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ *hadākum ajma‘īna* ‘he rightly guided you all’.

Note 1. The synonyms of *ajma‘u*, أَكْتَعُ *akta‘u*, أَبْصَعُ *abṣa‘u*, أَبْتَعُ *abta‘u* are treated similarly. Occasionally, they appear with *ajma‘u* for emphasis.

Note 2. In combination with the preposition *bi-* (§294.8) and with a personal pronominal suffix, *'ajma'u* may follow in apposition: **الّاس بأجتمعهم** (*'a)n-nāsu bi-'ajma'ihim* ‘mankind in its entirety’. Expressions like **بأجمعهم** *bi-jam'ihim*, **بأنسهم** *bi-'asrihim*, and others (§394.8) also occur in this type of construction.

§139. **بعض** *ba'dun* ('part') with the definite genitive indicates a part or any number of something: **بعض الكافرين** *ba'du 'l-kāfirīna* 'one of the unbelievers' or 'some unbelievers', **بعض ماله** *ba'du mālihī* 'some (part) of his wealth' (§146 b), **بعض العذاب** *ba'du 'l-'adhabī* 'some' or 'a certain kind of suffering'. Often *ba'dun* is used to show reciprocity. In this paired construction, the first member has the personal pronominal suffix, while the second is always indefinite: **رَاقِب بعضاً بعضاً** *rāqaba ba'dunā ba'dan* 'some of us watched the others', or 'we watched each other', **رفينا بعضهم فوق بعض** *rafa'nā ba'dahum fawqa ba'din* (Koran 43:32) 'we raised some of them above the others'.

Note 1. Note expressions like: **بعض اللّوم** *ba'da 'l-lawmi* 'only some blame!', i.e., 'do not blame so much!'.

Nominal Inflection

§140. All nouns have three case-forms that express syntactic relationships: nominative (§§352; 362 f.), genitive (§385 ff.), accusative (§372 ff.). In the dual and plural, the genitive and accusative are formally indistinguishable (oblique case). There are three different states: the indefinite (or indetermined), the definite (or determined), and the construct. In the singular, the definite and construct states, with a few exceptions (§150), are identical. In the dual and plural, they are morphologically distinguished.

§141. Indefinite state: a) The indefinite state indicates something unspecified introduced into the context. It is marked by *-n* (*tanwīn* §11 f.) in triptotic inflection and is unmarked in diptotic inflection.: **رجل** *rajulun* 'a man', **فوارس** *fawārisu* '(any, some) horsemen'.

Note 1. Personal names that are inflected as triptotes lose the sign of indefiniteness (-*n*) in genealogical citations before **بن** (*i*) **bnu** (§22 b) 'son of ...' **مالك بن سعد بن محمد** *māliku bnu sa'di bni muhammadin* (but not *Mālikun, Sa'din*).

Note 2. Expressions of time that specify the future are usually indefinite: غدا *ghadan* ‘tomorrow’, بعد غد *ba'da ghadin* ‘the day after tomorrow’, قابلا *qābilan* ‘next year’.

Note 3. In poetry, the indefinite state occurs not infrequently where one would expect the definite: أعزّي عنك قلباً مسْتَهَاماً *wazzī 'anka qalba mus-tahāma* ‘I console over you a (i. e., my) love-sick heart’, كَمَا ذَرَ شَارِق *kalla-mā dharra shāriqun* ‘whenever a (i.e., the) rising sun flares up’.

Note 4. Explicit indefiniteness is often indicated by ما *mā* (§285 c) following a noun: أَمْرٌ مَا *'amrun mā* ‘a certain affair’, إِلَى يَوْمٍ *'ilā yawmin* or إِلَى يَوْمٍ مَا *'ilā yawmin mā* ‘until some day’.

b) The indefinite state also indicates numerical singularity: كُلُّهُمْ لَأُمٌ *kulluhum li-'ummin* ‘all of them come from one and the same mother’, يَقْدِرُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ رَجُلٌ *yaqdiru 'alā dhalika rajulun* ‘one man is capable of this’, يُومًا يَوْمًا *yawman yawman* ‘one day long’. In this case, واحد *wāhidun* (§129) can be added for clarity: لَأُمٌ وَاحِدَةٌ *li-'ummin wāhidatin*.

c) The indefinite state often simply indicates the genus, namely, in the predicate (§363 a), with accusatives (§384), with genitives (§387 a), and in combination with من *min* (§299 a): كَمْ دَرْهَمًا *kam dirhamā* ‘how many dirhams’, حَبَّذَا أَنْتَ مِنْ رَجُلٍ *habbadhā 'anta min rajulin* ‘what a likeable man you are!’ (§263).

§142. Definite state: a) The definite state in the singular triptotic inflection does not have *-n*. The definite state occurs when a nominal form is marked definite by the article, أَلْ *al-*, by the vocative after يَ *yā* (§157 a), and by general negation after لَا *lā* (§318 c).

b) The article is (·*a*)*l-* (§§21; 22 a; 54): أَلْكِتَابٌ *(·a)l-kitābu* ‘the book’, هَذَا الْكِتَابُ *hādhā 'l-kitābu* ‘this book’ (§§274 ff.), بِالْكِتَابِ *bi-'l-kitābi* ‘with the book’. See §§18; 44 concerning the assimilation of the *l* to the following consonant.

§143. The definiteness indicated by the article is occasioned by the context, by the situation at hand, or by generally understood conditions.

a) When context expresses definiteness, the article often appears in place of the personal pronoun suffix, which otherwise would express definiteness: أتَيْتُ بَيْتَ الْوَزِيرِ فَخَرَجَ الْخَادِمُ إِلَيْنِي *'ataytu bayta 'l-wazīri fa-kharaja 'l-khādimu ilayya* 'I came to the vizier's house, and out came the (i.e., his) servant toward me'. Frequently, if no defining agent is specified, definiteness has a distributive meaning: جَاءَ الرَّجُلُ بَعْدَ الرَّجُلِ *jā'a 'r-rajulu ba'da 'r-rajuli* 'they came one after the other', إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ يَأْكُلُ فِي الْمَجْلِسِ الْوَاحِدِ مَا لَا تَأْكُلُ الْمَرْأَةُ *inna 'r-rajula yākulu fī 'l-majlisī 'l-wāhidī mā lā ta'kulū 'l-marātu* 'the man eats at a single sitting an amount the woman cannot', التَّرْجُلُ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ *(a)r-rajulu min-a 'l-muslimīnā* 'every single one of the Muslims'.

b) Definiteness expressed by the situation occurs in cases like: من التَّرْجُلِ *man-i 'r-rajulu* 'who is the man?', i.e., 'you there, who are you?' (in direct discourse), إِلَى السَّاعَةِ الْيَوْمِ *ilā 's-sā'ati 'yawmu* 'the present day', إِلَى السَّاعَةِ الْيَوْمِ *ilā 's-sā'ati* 'until now'.

c) Nouns that refer to the generic, abstract, substance, etc., are definite if they are thought of as unique in kind: مِثْلُ الْكَلْبِ *mathaluhū kāmathali* 'with him it is like it is with the dog', من الْكَبْرِ *min-a 'l-kibari* 'out of arrogance'.

Note 1. Uniqueness defines words like الشمس *(a)sh-shamsu* 'the sun', الخليفة *(a)l-khalīfatu* 'the Caliph' and all proper names, even if they appear formally in the indefinite state: محمد *Muhammadun* (Muhammad), رجب *Rajabun* 'the month of Rajab'.

§144. The article transforms nouns that refer to individuals into generic nouns by defining them in a generic sense: خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ ضَعِيفًا *khulīqa 'l-insānu daifan* (Koran 4:28) 'man was created weak', العلماء *(a)l-ulamā'u* 'scholars'.

Note 1. When expressing quantity, this general kind of definiteness indicates individual parts: الكثُرُ مِنْهُمْ *(a)l-kathīru minhum* 'the majority of them', العَدُّ الْقَلِيلُ مِنْهُ *(a)l-adadu 'l-qalīlu minhu* 'a small number of it'. المَائَةُ لَمْ نَزِدْ عَلَى الْمَائَةِ *lam nazid 'alā 'l-mi'ati* 'we did not exceed (the number) 100'.

Note 2. Non-substantive nominal forms (§§113–139) are made substantives by the definite article or the lack of it: **جاهل** *jāhilun*, **الجاهل** *(a)l-jāhilu* ‘an ignorant person, the ignorant’.

Note 3. Concerning the definiteness of predicate nouns, see §363 b.

§145. Construct state: a) Words in the singular construct state are identical to those in the definite state. In the plural, *-na*, and in the dual, *-ni*, are dropped. A word in the construct state is followed immediately by a dependent substantive in the genitive or by a personal pronoun suffix: **مال تاجر** *mālu tājirin* ‘the wealth of a merchant’, **ماله** *māluhū* ‘his wealth’, **جنتاهم سبا** *jannatā Saba'in* ‘both gardens of Sheba’, **جنتاهم** *jannatāhum* ‘both of their gardens’.

b) Anything else qualifying the word in the construct state must come after the genitive or pronominal suffix: **سيف الفارس البثار** *sayfu l-fārisi l-battāru* ‘the sharp sword of the horseman’, **ربك الأكرم** *rabbuka l-akramu* ‘your incomparably noble lord’.

Note 1. Once in a while, interjections and the like come between the word in the construct state and the genitive: **حر والله القهيبة** *harru wa-l-lāhi 'z-zahīrati* ‘the heat — by God! — of mid-day’. See also §285 c.

c) If there are two substantives in the construct state but one dependent genitive, the genitive must be represented by a personal pronoun suffix on the second member of the construct: **سيوف الأعداء وأرماهم** *suyūfu l-a'dā'i wa-'armāhuhum* ‘the swords and spears of the enemies’, **قصير القامة نحيفها** *qasīru l-qāmati naḥīfuhā* ‘short and thin in stature’ (§388).

Note 2. Contrary to this rule, genitives may with increasing frequency depend on two substantives in post-classical Arabic: **طرق وأراضي تلك البلدان** *turuqu wa-arādi tilka l-buldāni* ‘the roads and lands of those countries’.

§146. a) By itself, the construct state is neither definite nor indefinite. A definite genitive or a personal pronoun suffix makes the construction definite. If the genitive is indefinite, the construction is indefinite: **كلب دار نابع** *kalbu dārin nābihun* ‘a barking dog of a dwelling’, **كلب الدار** *kalbu 'd-dāri* ‘the barking dog of the dwelling’.

Note 1. The indefinite state is combined with a dependent genitive by *li-* (§295 b). If the sense is partitive, it is combined with the dependent genitive by *min* (§299.1): كُلْبٌ لَدَارِهِمْ *kalbun li-dārihim* 'a dog belonging to their dwelling', كُلْبٌ مِنْ كَلَابِهِمْ *kalbun min kilābihim* 'one of their dogs' = أَحَدُ كَلَابِهِمْ *ahadu kilābihim* (§129.1) or بَعْضُ كَلَابِهِمْ *ba'du kilābihim* 'one of their dogs' (§139).

b) The construct state of words like بَعْضٌ *ahadun* (§129.1), أَحَدٌ *ba'dun* (§139) or of words indicating comparison like مِثْلٌ *mithlun* 'one like ...', something like ...' (§297 c), غَيْرٌ *ghayru-* 'other than' (§325), نَظِيرٌ *naz̄irun*, شَبَهٌ *shibhun* 'similar to', and the like are considered indefinite, even when combined with a definite genitive or a personal pronoun suffix: فَتِي مِثْلِي *fati mithli* 'a youth like me', رَجُلٌ غَيْرُكُمْ *rijālun ghayrukum* 'men other than you'.

c) The construct state of adjectives and participles is not made definite by the definite specifying genitive (§388) or the genitive expressing an object (§386 b): رَجُلٌ كَرِيمٌ النَّسَبٌ *rajulun karīmu 'n-nasabi* 'a man of noble lineage', ضَارِبٌ أَخَاهُ *dāribu 'akhīhi* = ضَارِبُ أَخِيهِ *dāribun 'akhīhu* 'one who strikes his brother'. The adjective can be made definite by the article: (ا)رَجُلٌ كَرِيمٌ النَّسَبٌ *(a)r-rajulu 'l-karīmu 'n-nasabi*. In such constructions, making the participle definite is avoided, but it occasionally occurs: (ا)الصَّارِبُو أَوْلَادَهُمْ *(a)t-tābi'i* 'he who follows me', (ا)الثَّابِي *(a)d-dāribū* 'awlādihim 'those who strike their children'.

Note 2. The perfective participle (§201) is considered a substantive in the construct state and is made definite by the genitive: قاتل أخِي *qātilu 'akhī* 'the one who killed my brother, my brother's murderer'.

Note 3. Cases like *karīmu 'n-nasabi*, (ا)لـ*-karīmu 'n-nasabi* are called "the improper annexation" *al-idāfah ghayr al-haqiqiyah* by the Arab grammarians, because the genitive can be joined with a substantive in the definite state.

Triptotic Inflection

§147. Indefinite state: سارق *sāriqun* ‘thief’, سارقة *sāriqatun* (fem.).

Sg.	nom. masc.	سارق	<i>sāriq-un</i>	fem.	سارة	<i>sāriq-at-un</i>
	gen.	سارق	<i>sāriq-in</i>		سارة	<i>sāriq-at-in</i>
	acc.	سارقا	<i>sāriq-an</i>		سارة	<i>sāriq-at-an</i>
Du.	nom.	سارقان	<i>sāriq-āni</i>		ساقتان	<i>sāriq-āt-āni</i>
	obl.	سارقين	<i>sāriq-ayni</i>		ساقتين	<i>sāriq-āt-ayni</i>
Pl.	nom.	سارقون	<i>sāriq-ūna</i>		ساقات	<i>sāriq-āt-un</i>
	obl.	سارقين	<i>sāriq-īna</i>		ساقات	<i>sāriq-āt-in</i>

Note 1. On the orthography of the endings, see §§11 and 13.

Note 2. On the formation of the plural, see §§101 ff.; for the dual, see §§107ff.

§148. Definite state

Sg.	nom.	السارق	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-u</i>	fem.	السارة	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-at-u</i>
	gen.	السارق	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-i</i>		السارة	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-at-i</i>
	acc.	السارق	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-a</i>		السارة	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-at-a</i>
Du.	nom.	السارقان	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-āni</i>		السارقتان	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-āt-āni</i>
	obl.	السارقين	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-ayni</i>		السارقتين	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-āt-ayni</i>
Pl.	nom.	السارقون	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-ūna</i>		السارقات	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-āt-un</i>
	obl.	السارقين	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-īna</i>		السارقات	(^{هـ}) <i>s-sāriq-āt-in</i>

§149. Construct state

Sg.	nom.	سارق	<i>sāriq-u</i>	fem.	سارة	<i>sāriq-at-u</i>
	gen.	سارق	<i>sāriq-i</i>		سارة	<i>sāriq-at-i</i>
	acc.	سارق	<i>sāriq-a</i>		سارة	<i>sāriq-at-a</i>
Du.	nom.	سارقا	<i>sāriq-ā</i>		ساقتا	<i>sāriq-at-ā</i>
	obl.	سارقي	<i>sāriq-ay</i>		ساري	<i>sāriq-at-ay</i>
Pl.	nom.	سارقو	<i>sāriq-ū</i>		ساقات	<i>sāriq-āt-u</i>
	obl.	سارقي	<i>sāriq-ī</i>		ساقات	<i>sāriq-āt-i</i>

Note 1. On the attachment of personal pronominal suffixes to the construct state, see §269.

§150. أب *abun* ‘father’ (definite أباً *(·a)l-abu*), أخ *akhun* ‘brother’ (definite أخي *(·a)l-akhu*), حم *hamun* (definite الحم *(·a)l-hamu*), ‘father-in-law’ (§72 b) have alternative forms in the construct state (as also the words that exist only in the construct state, فو *fū* ‘mouth’ (§72 a) and ذو *dhū* (§283)):

Nom.	أبو abū	أخ akhū	حم hamū	فو fū	ذو dhū
Gen.	أبي abi	أخي akhī	حمي hamī	في fi	ذى dhī
Acc.	أبا abā	أخًا akhā	حما hamā	فًا fā	ذا dhā

Note 1. On the attachment of the personal pronoun suffixes, see §269.3.

Note 2. Dual: أبوان abawāni (§108 a), أخوان akhawāni.

§151. إمرء (·i)mrwun ‘man’ (§72 e) and the infrequently occurring إبن (·i)bnumun ‘son’ (§37 b), the vowel of the stem assimilates to the vowel of inflectional ending:

Nom.	إمرء (·i)mrwun	إبن (·i)bnumun
Gen.	إمرئ (·i)mri'in	إبن (·i)bnimin
Acc.	إمرءاً (·i)mra'an	إبناً (·i)bnaman

(·i)mrwun in the definite state with the article is الـ (·a)l-mar'u, in the construct state إمرؤ (·i)mrwu.

Note 1. Occasionally, uninflected forms of words and expressions that are semantically identified with non-standard language enter classical Arabic poetic texts, e.g., حر hir for hirun ‘vulva’, هن han for hanun with the same meaning as hir (§72).

Diptotic Inflection

§152. Diptotically inflected nominal forms do not have the sign of indefiniteness -n in the indefinite state, and the genitive has -a instead of -i. When such words form duals and inflected plurals, they do not differ from triptotes.

Sg. nom.	أسود aswadu	الأسود (·a)l-aswadu
gen.	أسود aswada	الأسود (·a)l-aswadi
acc.	أسود aswada	الأسود (·a)l-aswada

Diptotes in the definite and construct states are inflected like triptotic nominal forms.

§153. The following groups of nominal forms have the diptotic inflection in the indefinite state:

a) Nominal forms in morpheme category *'af'alu* (§§119; 124; 138), *fū'alu* (§127), *fa'lānu* (§119), *fū'ālu*, and *maf'alu* (§135).

b) Morpheme categories with the feminine ending *-ā'* (§64 c) like *fa'lā'u* (§§75 b; 119; 138), *fī'liyā'u*, *fū'alā'u*, *fā'ūlā'u* (§§75 b; 90), and *'af'ilā'u* (§100).

Note 1. The indeclinable feminine ending *-ā* (§64 b) is also diptotic. It does not take the sign of indefiniteness *-n*. See §100.2 on the diptotic plural *'ashyā'u* of *shay'un* 'thing'.

c) Plural morpheme categories *fa'ālīlu*, *fa'ālīlu*, etc. (§93 ff.).

d) If they consist of more than three consonants, all proper names that have the feminine ending *-at-* or are of foreign origin, like **دمشق Dimashqu**, 'Damascus', **زينب Zaynabu** (fem. personal name), **مكة Makkatu** 'Mecca', **طحنة Talhatu** (masc. personal name), **أهواز Ahwāzu** (place name).

e) All proper names that are feminine in meaning, like **مصر Misru** 'Egypt', **حلب Halabu** 'Aleppo', **هند Hindu** (fem. personal name).

f) Masculine personal names, if they do not belong to morpheme categories *fa'lun*, *fī'lun*, *fū'lun*, *fa'alun*, *fa'ilun* or are not participles (§§223 f.). Compare **عمر Umaru** 'Omar', **عثمان Uthmānu** 'Uthman', **يوسف Yūsufu** 'Joseph' to **امرون Amrun** (§11.1), **نوح Nūhun** 'Noah', **محمد Muḥammadun** 'Muhammad'.

Note 2. Proper names with diminutive forms *fū'aylun* and *fū'ayyilun* (§§81 f.) are inflected as triptotes: **زهير Zuhayrun**, **كثير Kuthayyirun**. The diminutive is diptotic, however, if it has the feminine ending *-at-*: **فطيمية Fuṭaymatu**.

Note 3. All diptotic nominal forms can be treated as triptotes in poetry. The opposite also occurs sometimes in poetry (though much more rarely).

Inflection of III- and IV-Weak Nominal Forms

§154. a) Nominal forms ending in stem-final *-ā* are indeclinable in the singular (§34 b). When the sign of indefiniteness *-n* is affixed, *-ā-n* is abbreviated > *-an* (§52); *-ā-atun* is shortened to *-ātun*. When the dual and plural endings are affixed, the phonological rules in §35 a are observed.

Sg. masc.	ملقى <i>mulqan</i> 'thrown'	fem.	ملقة <i>mulqātun</i> (gen. <i>-in</i> , (§256 c) acc. <i>-an</i>)
Du. nom.	ملقيان <i>mulqayāni</i>		ملقاتان <i>mulqātāni</i>
obl.	ملقيين <i>mulqayayni</i>		ملقاتين <i>mulqātayni</i>
Pl. nom.	ملقون <i>mulqawna</i>		ملقيات <i>mulqayātun</i>
obl.	ملقين <i>mulqayna</i>		ملقيات <i>mulqayātin</i>

b) The definite and construct states are formed according to the rules mentioned above (§§142 ff.): Definite المُلْقَى *(‘a)l-mulqā*, plural nominative المُلْقَوْن *(‘a)l-mulqawna*, feminine المُلْقَاتَة *(‘a)l-mulqātu*, etc.; construct state المُلْقَى *mulqā*, plural nominative مُلْقُوا *mulqaw*, oblique مُلْقِي *mulqay*, dual nominative مُلْقَيَا *mulqayā*, oblique مُلْقَيَّة *mulqayay*, feminine مُلْقَاتُه *mulqātu*, etc.

Note 1. See §10 on the orthography.

Note 2. As they do in the definite and construct states, diptotes in the indefinite state have indeclinable stem-final *-ā* in the singular: أعلى *a'lā* 'highest' = *afalu/a* of root *-l-w*, الأعلى *al-a'lā* 'the highest' = *(‘a)l-afalu/i/a*.

Note 3. The feminine ending *-ā* (§64 b) is treated like diptotic stem-final *-ā*: حبليات *hublā* 'pregnant', plural حبليات *hublayātun*, dual حبليات *hublayāni* (§35 b).

§155. a) Nominal forms with stem-final *-ī* have the ending *ī* (= *-iyu, *-iya §34 b) in the nominative and genitive. In the accusative, it is *-iya*. When the sign of indefiniteness *-n* is affixed, *ī-n* is shortened to *-in* (§52). When the dual and plural endings are affixed, the rules in §35 a are followed. There are no peculiarities with the feminine ending in *-iy-atun*.

Sg.	nom.	داع	<i>dā'i</i> 'calling' (§256 a)	الداعي	(·a)d-dā'i
	gen.	داع	<i>dā'i</i>	الداعي	(·a)d-dā'i
	acc.	داعيا	<i>dā'iyan</i>	الداعي	(·a)d-dā'iya
Du.	nom.	داعيان	<i>dā'iyanī</i>	الداعيان	(·a)d-dā'iyanī
	obl.	داعيين	<i>dā'iyanī</i>	الداعيين	(·a)d-dā'iyanī
Pl.	nom.	داعون	<i>dā'u</i>	الداعون	(·a)d-dā'u
	obl.	داعين	<i>dā'īna</i>	الداعين	(·a)d-dā'iña

b) The construct state resembles the forms in §149: داعي *dā'i*, accusative داعي *dā'iya*, dual داعي *dā'iyyā*, plural داعي *dā'iyyay*, etc. داع داعو *dā'u*, داعي *dā'iyyā*, داعي *dā'iyyay*, plural داعي *dā'iyyaynī*.

Note 1. The short form of the *nisbah*-ending *-iy* is treated like stem-final *-i*: مان *yamānin* 'Yemenite', accusative عانيا *yamāniyan*, etc. (§116.1).

§156. Diptotic nominal forms with stem-final *i* are distinctive in that they take the sign of indefiniteness *-n* in the nominative and genitive of the indefinite state: أفاع *afā'in* 'vipers', plural of أفعى *afā'an* (§94).

Sg.	nom.	أفاع	<i>afā'in</i>	الأفاعي	(·a)l-afā'i
	gen.	أفاع	<i>afā'in</i>	الأفاعي	(·a)l-afā'i
	acc.	أفاعي	<i>afā'iya</i>	الأفاعي	(·a)l-afā'iya

Vocative

§157. a) In vocative expressions, such as appeals or exhortations, the substantive is in the definite state, as a rule introduced by the particle ي *yā* or أ *ayyuhā* (ي *yā*) *ayyuhā*. The definite state follows *yā* without the article, *ayyuhā* with the article (·a)*l-*: يا غلام *yā qhulāmu* 'O lad!', يا فتى *yā fatā* 'O young man!', يا أميرها *yā amīru* 'O prince!'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, أيتها *ayyatuha* occurs occasionally along with *ayyuhā* with feminine substantives.

b) The construct state must be in the accusative in vocative expressions: يا عبد الله *yā 'bna 'ammī* 'O son of my uncle!', يا ابن عمتي *yā 'Abda 'l-lahi* 'O Abd Allah!'.
يا عبد الله *yā 'bna 'ammī* 'O son of my uncle!', يا ابن عمتي *yā 'Abda 'l-lahi* 'O Abd Allah!'.

Note 2. The vocative particle *yā* may be lacking: زيد *Zaydu* 'O Zayd!', أبا عامر *abā 'Āmirin* 'O Abū Āmir!', ربنا *rabbanā* 'our lord!'.

Note 3. The personal pronominal suffix *-ī* 'my' is sometimes shortened and thus not written: يَا رَبٌّ *yā rabbī* 'o my Lord (God)!'. There are alternative forms of أَبٌ *'abū* 'father', أُمٌّ *'ummū* 'mother': يَا أُبْتٌ *yā 'abatī* 'O my father!', يَا أُمْتٌ *yā 'ummati* 'O my mother!'.¹

Note 4. Poetry has vocative constructions with the accusative in the indefinite state following the particles أَيْ *'ayī*, أَيْ *'ayā*, أَيْ *'ayā*. The indefinite accusative must be followed by an additional element: أَرَاكِبَا كَمِيَا *a-rākiba kamīya*, مُوقَدَا نَارِيَا *mūqidā nāriya*, مُوقَدَا نَارِيَا *mūqidā nāriya* 'O you heroic horseman!', مُوقَدَا نَارِيَا *mūqidā nāriya* 'O you who would kindle a fire!'

§158. The vocative can be marked by the ending *-ā*, *-āh* (pausal form). *-āh* usually occurs after the particle وَ *wā*: يَا عَمَّا *yā ammā* ('ammāh) 'O (my) uncle!', يَا عَجَباً *yā ajabā*, يَا عَجَباً *yā ajabāh* 'O (what a) miracle!', يَا حَسْرَتَا *yā hasratā* 'O pity!', يَا صَبَاحَهُ *yā sabahāh* 'O (how bad is) the morning!'.

Note 1. *-ā* is often interpreted as an indefinite accusative *-an* (§157.4): يَا عَجَباً *yā ajaban* 'O miracle!', يَا رَجُلًا *yā rajulan* 'hey, any man!'. Cf. §53.3.

Note 2. In expressions referring to family relatives, *-ā* is often abbreviated to *-a*: يَا ابْنَ عَمٍ *yā 'bna 'amma* ('ammāh) 'O (my) cousin!'. These vocatives of أَمٌّ *'ummā* (§157.3) are أَبْتَاه *'abatāh* and أَمْتَاه *'ummatah*, أَمْتَاه *'ummatāh*.

§159. After the vocative particles *'a* and *yā*, personal names and words frequently employed in exhortations are often shortened. Abbreviation (*tarkhīm*) affects the inflectional endings and the preceding consonants: يَا عَاذِلٌ *yā sāhi* (= صَاحِبٌ *sāhibu*) 'O companion!', يَا صَاحِبٌ *yā 'ādhila* (= اَدْهِلَاتُ *ādhilatu*) 'O blamer (fem.)!', يَا فَاطِمَةٌ *yā fātīma* (= فَاطِمَاتُ *Fātimatu*) 'O Fatima!', يَا عُثْمَانٌ *yā uthma* (= عُثْمَانُ *Uthmānu*) 'O Uthman!'.

Verb

§160. Preliminary remarks: The Arab grammarians considered the third person singular masculine to be the simplest form of the verb, in that it embodies orthographically the stem unencumbered by any morpheme: فعل 'he did' from the root *f- -l*. Therefore, it is customary for grammars

and dictionaries to present the 3rd pers. sg. masc. as the basic form of the verb. Every verb has a perfect and an imperfect primary form. These are usually distinguished from each other by the stem vowel. Since in the basic stem (§163) there is no predictable distribution of vowel classes in the perf. and imperf. base, dictionaries give the stem vowel of the imperf. base: *qatala* (*u*) 'kill', i.e., perf. base *qatal-a*, imperf. base *ya-qtul-u*.

Formation of the Stem

§161. Most verbs by far are three-radical (§§58 f.). A smaller number consists of four-radical verbs. The basic stem and the derived verbal stems are classified in 15 three-radical morpheme categories and 4 four-radical categories, excluding a few alternative formations (§178). In grammars and dictionaries, verbal stems are usually identified by roman numerals (I–XV), beginning with the basic stem as stem I.

§162. The derived verbal stems are formed in the following ways:

- a) Doubling of the middle or final consonantal radical: three-radical verbs: *fa^cala* (II), (*i*)*f alla* (IX); four-radical (*i*)*f al₃all₄a* (IV).
- b) Vowel lengthening *a* > *ā*: in three-radical verbs: *fā^cala* (III), (*i*)*f ālla* (XI) from (*i*)*f alla*.
- c) *aw(w)* infixated into the stem: three-radical verbs: (*i*)*f aw^cala* (XII), (*i*)*f awwala* (XIII).

Note 1. Morpheme categories *faw^cala* and *fay^cala* are classified as in the basic stem *fa^cl₃al₄a* (I) of the four-radical verb.

d) Causative prefix *'a-*: in three-radical verbs: *'af^cala* (IV).

Note 2. On vestiges of the *ha-* causative prefix, see §178 b.

e) Causative prefix *sa-*: only in combination with the *t*-infix in three-radical verbs (*i*)*staf^cala* (X).

Note 3. Evidence of the *sa*-prefix is also found in the basic stem of three- and four-radical verbs: *sabaqa* 'leave behind' from *baqiya* 'remain', *salqā* 'throw down on the back' from *laqiya* 'meet'.

f) Reflexive prefix *ta-*: three-radical verbs: *tafa^aala* (V) from *fa^aala*, *tafā^aala* (VI) from *fā^aala*; four-radical verbs: *tafa^al₃al₄a* (II) from *fa^al₃al₄a*.

g) Reflexive infix *-t-*: three-radical verbs: (*i*)*fta^aala* (VIII), (*i*)*stafala* (X) from **sa-fala* (§162 e).

Note 4. Pre-classical Arabic had a *t*-prefix: (*i*)*tfa^aala* (= V), (*i*)*tfā^aala* (= VI). See §47.

h) Reflexive-passive prefix *n-*: three-radical verbs: (*i*)*nfa^aala* (VII).

i) Infix *-n-*: three-radical verbs: (*i*)*f^aanlala* (XIV), (*i*)*f^aanlā* (XV); four-radical verbs: (*i*)*f^aanl₃al₄a* (III).

Note 5. Other derivations, like morpheme categories originating in (*i*)*f^aalla* (XI), namely, (*i*)*f^aalla*, (*i*)*f^aahalla*, (*i*)*f^aalla*, and similar forms, or denominal formations, *fa^alala*, and others, correspond formally to verbal stems I through IV of four-radical verbs. They are therefore classed there (§§174ff.).

Verbal Stems of Three-Radical Verbs

§163. I. (Basic stem): The basic stem occurs in three vowel classes of the perfect base: 1. *fa^aala* (imperfect *yaf^aa/i/alu*), 2. *fa^uila* (imperfect *yaf^ualu*), 3. *fa^uula* (imperfect *yaf^uulu*). *fa^aala* includes transitive and intransitive action verbs like قتل *qatala* (يقتل *yaqtulu*) ‘kill’, ضرب *daraba* (يضرب *yadribu*) ‘beat’, ذهب *dhahaba* (يذهب *yadhhabu*) ‘go away’. *fa^uila* includes mostly non-action verbs and verbs expressing attributes such as علق *‘aliqa* (يعلق *yalaqu*) ‘hang’, بله *baliha* (يبله *yabluh*) ‘be simple-minded’. *fa^uula* includes exclusively verbs expressing qualities or attributes like حسن *hasuna* (يحسن *yahsunu*) ‘be handsome, good’, عمق *‘amuqa* (يعمق *yamuqu*) ‘be deep’.

Note 1. In poetry, *fa^ala* occurs occasionally in place of *fa^uila*.

Note 2. In the following description, only the most important of the typical semantic groups of the derived verbs are included.

§164. II. *fa‘ala* (imperf. *yufa‘alu*) forms intensives like قطع *qattā'a* ‘cut to pieces’ from قطع *qaṭara* ‘cut off’; transitives like ثبت *thabbata* ‘make firm’ from ثبّات *thabata* ‘be firm’, علم *allama* ‘teach’ from ثبات *alima* ‘know’; sometimes declaratives like كذب *kadhdhaba* ‘call a liar’ from كذب *kadhaba* ‘lie’. Transitive denominal verbs are frequently in this morpheme category: سلم *sallama* ‘to offer greetings (سلام *salāmun*)’.

§165. III. *fā‘ala* (imperf. *yufā‘alu*) has the sense of ‘intend, try to do something’ or ‘intend, try, to do something to someone’: قاتل *qātala* ‘fight’ (‘intend, try, to kill’), لاین *lāyana* ‘treat with kindness’ from لان *lāna* (imperf. *yalīnu*) ‘be soft, gentle’. These kinds of meanings of verbal stem III occur with the accusative. In combination with بين *bayna* ‘between’, verbal stem III is frequently a transitive of stem VI. See §308.1.

§166. IV. *‘afā‘ala* (imperf. *yufilu*) forms causatives like أذهب *adhhaba* ‘cause to go away’ from ذهب *dhababa* ‘go away’, أحسن *aḥsana* ‘do right, good’ from حسن *hasuna* ‘be good’; sometimes declarative: أنكر *ankara* ‘consider objectionable, censure’. There are other characteristic meanings, e.g., أخطأ *akhtā'a* ‘make an error’, أصبح *aṣbāha* ‘begin a new day’ (§190.1), أعرق *araqa* ‘march to Iraq’, أطلب *atlaba* ‘acquiesce to a demand’.

Note 1. The causative is usually not used if an action is carried out by an agent: قتله *qatalahū* ‘he killed him’ or ‘he had him killed’.

Note 2. On the formulaic expressions *mā ‘afā‘ala* and *‘afā‘il bi-*, see §128.

§167. V. *tafa‘ala* (imperf. *yatafa‘alu*) is the reflexive of stem II: تعلم *ta‘allama* ‘teach one self, learn’, تثبت *tathabbata* ‘ascertain’; occasionally with the meaning of pretending: تنبأ *tanabba'a* ‘pretend, claim to be a prophet’, تكلف *takallafa* ‘force oneself, pretend to do something’.

Note 1. Concerning (*i*) *tfa‘ala* (*yatafa‘alu* > *yaffa‘alu*), see §47.

§168. VI. *tafā‘ala* (imperf. *yatafā‘alu*) is the reflexive of stem III and often has a reciprocal meaning: تعالج *ta‘älaja* ‘undergo treatment’ from عالج *ā-laJa* ‘treat someone’, تازع *tanāza'a* ‘contend with one another’ from نازع *nāza'a* ‘fight’; occasionally, like stem V, it has the meaning of pretending: تناوم *tanāwama* ‘to feign sleep’.

Note 1. Concerning (·i)tfā‘ala (*yatfā‘alu* > *yaffā‘alu*) see §47.

§169. VII. (·i)nfa‘ala (imperf. *yanfa‘ilu*) is reflexive-passive of the basic stem: اَنْجَزَ (·i)nhazama ‘be put to flight’ from هَرَمٌ *hazama* ‘put to flight’.

Note 1. The prefixed *n-* can be assimilated to a following *m* (§45). Of I-n roots, only *n-m-s* has a stem VII: أَنْسَ (·i)nnamasa ‘conceal oneself’. As a rule, stem VIII occurs instead for these roots.

§170. VIII. (·i)fta‘ala (imperf. *yafta‘ilu*) is reflexive-intransitive of the basic stem: اِرْفَعَ (·i)rtafa‘a ‘rise’ from رَفَعٌ *rafa‘a* ‘lift’; frequently with the meaning ‘do something for oneself’: اِتَّخَذَ (·i)ttakhadha (§238) ‘take for oneself’ from أَخَذَ *akhadha* ‘take’, and the meaning ‘do something with someone else’: اِخْتَصَ (·i)khtasama ‘fight with each other’ from خَاصٌ *kħasama* ‘fight’.

Note 1. Concerning the assimilation of the -*t*- infix to the first radical, see §46.

§171. IX. (·i)falla (imperf. *yafallu*) and XI. (·i)fālla (imperf. *yafāllu*), with lengthening of the stem vowel, belong almost without exception to adjectives of the morpheme category ‘af‘alu (§119): اِصْفَرَ (·i)sfarrā and اِصْفَارَ (·i)sfārrā ‘turn yellow, become pale’ from اِصْفَارُ *asfaru* ‘yellow’, اِزْوَارَ (·i)zwarra and اِزْوَازَ (·i)zwārra ‘become crooked, turn aside’ from اِزْوَارُ *azwaru* ‘oblique, crooked’.

§172. X. (·i)staf‘ala (imperf. *ystaf‘ilu*) is reflexive of extinct *saf‘ala (§162 e): اِسْتَوْحَشَ (·i)stawħasha ‘feel lonely’ from *sawħasha = أَوْحَشَ (·i)awħasha ‘make lonely’, اِسْتَغْفَرَ (·i)stagħfara ‘apologize’, i.e., ‘ask for forgiveness’; frequently reflexive of the causative-declarative: اِسْتَكْبَرَ (·i)stakbara ‘consider oneself great, important, be haughty’ from أَكْبَرَ *akbara* ‘deem great, important’.

§173. Verbal stems XII–XV are rare: XII. (·i)faw‘ala (imperf. *yafaw‘ilu*): اِحْدَدَ (·i)hdawdaba ‘be hunchback’ from اَحْدَدُ *ahdabu* ‘hunchback’, XIII. (·i)fawwala (imperf. *yafawwilu*): اِعْلَوَ (·i)lawwada ‘be strong’ from عَلَدُ *alida* ‘be strong’. XIV. (·i)fānlala (imperf. *yafānlilu*): اِحْلَنْكَكَ (·i)ħlankaka ‘be pitch-black’ from حَلَكَ *halika* ‘be pitch-black’. XV. (·i)fānlā (imperf. *yafānlī*): اِعْلَنْدَيَ (·i)ħlāndā ‘be strong’ from عَلَدَيَ *alidā* ‘be strong’.

Verbal Stems of Four-Radical Verbs

§174. I. *fə'l₃al₄a* (imperf. *yufə'l₃il₄u*) includes roots of diverse origin: four-radical roots like جَمْهُرٌ *jamhara* 'gather', reduplicated roots like لَلَّا لَلَّا *la:lāla* 'glisten', denominals like مَنْطَقَةٌ *mantaqa* 'gird' from مِنْطَاقَةٌ *minṭaqatun* 'belt', *jilbab* 'clothe in a جَلْبَابٍ *jilbābun*', formulaic expressions like بَسْمُ اللَّهِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ *bi-smi 'l-lāhi*' (§22 c), and others.

§175. II. *tafa'l₃al₄a* (imperf. *yatafa'l₃al₄u*) is reflexive-intransitive of the basic stem (I.): تَجْمَعٌ *tajamhara* 'congregate', تَمْنَاطِقَةٌ *tamanṭaqā* 'gird oneself'.

§176. III. (*i*)*f anl₃al₄a* (imperf. *yaf'anl₃il₄u*) is exceptionally rare: اخْرَنْطَمٌ *akhrañtāmū* (*i*)*khrantama* 'turn up one's nose' from خَرْطُومٌ *khurtūmūn* 'elephant trunk'.

Note 1. Infixed *-n-* can be assimilated to the following *m*; see §45.

§177. IV. (*i*)*f al₃all₄a* (imperf. *yaf'al₃ill₄u*: أشْمَخْرٌ *ashmāxrū*, *i*)*shmakharra* 'be lofty, arrogant' from شَمْخَرٌ *shamkharā* 'be lofty, proud'; cf. §162.5.

§178. a) Instead of (*i*)*f alla* (IX), (*i*)*f alā* (imperf. *yaf'ali*) is formed from III-weak roots: أَحْوَى *ahwā* 'be dark-colored' from أَحْوَى *ahwā* 'dark-colored', أَرْعَى *r'awā* 'pay attention'.

b) The causative prefix *ha-* (§162 d) is still preserved in هَرَاقٌ *harāqā* 'spill' and in several other rarely used words. On the inflection, see §249.

Note 1. Variant verbal stems of these morpheme categories occur with exceeding rarity and mostly only in one attestation.

System of Verb Forms

§179. The verb has a suffix conjugation and a prefix conjugation. The suffix conjugation is used to form the perfect. The prefix conjugation is used to form the imperfect, subjunctive, jussive, and energetic. Both conjugations have active and passive forms. The passive is distinguished from the active by stem vowels and prefix vowels. The imperative, which is formed from the imperfect base, occurs in the active only. Active and passive participles and verbal substantives (infinitive) are inflected nominal forms of the verb.

§180. The perfect and imperfect and, under special circumstances, the jussive and active participle serve as finite verb forms. The verbal system is based on the opposing aspects inherent in the perfect and the imperfect:

The perfect indicates completed action (perfective aspect).

The imperfect indicates incomplete action in process (imperfective aspect).

When the perfect and imperfect refer to time:

the perfect is used to express the past,

the imperfect is used to express the present,

and the imperfect combined with *sawfa*, *sa-* is used to express the future.

Note 1. To distinguish more precisely different aspects and tenses, the particles *qad* and *sawfa* (*sa-*) and verb forms combined with *kāna* (*yakūnu*) 'to be', *ja'ala* 'make, do', among others (§190) are used.

Use of the Perfect

§181. The perfect indicates completed action. It is used to:

a) refer to events that have already taken place (preterite):

دعايَ يوماً فدخلتُ إلَيْهِ *da'ānī yaumā fa-dakhaltu ilayhī* 'One day he called me, and I went in before him', خلقَ الله السموات والأرض *khalaqa 'l-lāhu 's-samāwāti wa-'l-'arḍa* (Koran 29:44; 30:8) 'God created heaven and earth'.

b) establish facts: العَلَمَاءُ اخْتَلَفُوا عَنْ آرَأِيهِمْ *khtalafat-i 'l-'alamā'u* 'Scholars are of differing opinions', علمَ أَنَّ *alimā 'annahū* 'He knows that ...', كَفَرُوا *kafrū* (cf. §190 ff.), أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ *'alamu 'annahū* 'I know that ...'. *lladhīna kafarū* (Koran 2:6, 26, 89, etc.) 'those who are unbelievers'. This use of the perfect is limited primarily to pre-classical Arabic, nevertheless it is preserved in maxims and formulas in the classical period: أَنْجَزَ حَرَّ مَا وَعَدَ *anjaza ḥurrun mā wa'ada* 'A free man fulfills what he promises'.

Note 1. If the action is conceived of as a continuing process, the imperfect may be used: أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ *'alamu 'annahū* 'I know that ...'.

Note 2. The perfect كَانَ *kāna* 'he was' (cf. §190 ff.) is also used in the Koran and infrequently in other pre-classical texts to establish facts: كَانَ اللَّهُ غَفُورًا رَّحِيمًا *kāna 'l-lāhu ghafūran rahīman* (Koran 4:96, 100, 152; 25:70, etc.) 'God is merciful'.

c) verify an action that is completed at the same time as the establishment of a fact (coincidental occurrence): بعثت إيلك هذا *ba'athtu 'ilayka bi-hādhā* 'I herewith (hereby) send this to you', حلفت حلفت *halaftu* 'I hereby swear ...'.

Note 3. The perfect which establishes facts or verifies completed action is negated with *mā* (§321). The jussive in combination with the negative particle *lam* is used as a negative preterite (§194). Concerning the negative particle *lā* in combination with the perfect, see §§182 b; 318 b; 335 b.

Note 4. Note that many verbs can be interpreted as expressing both durative and punctual-ingressive actions: قام *qāma* 'He stood upright' or 'He stood up', ركب *rakiba* 'He rode' or 'He mounted'.

§182. a) The perfect is used to express "wished for" or "conceived of" actions: رحمه الله *rahimahū* 'l-lāhu 'May God have mercy on him!', 'May God be merciful to him!', بوركت *būrikta* 'May you be blessed!'.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic the imperfect is frequently used to express wish: يرحمك الله *yarḥamuka* 'l-lāhu 'God will bless you', 'May God bless you'.

b) The perfect that expresses wish is negated by لا *lā* (§318): لا قاتلك الله *lā qātalaka* 'l-lāhu 'May God not condemn you (fight against you)!'. This use also occurs in oaths: حلفت والله لا فعلت هذا *halaftu wa-'l-lāhi lā fa'altu hādhā* 'I hereby swear, by God! May I never have done this!', i.e. 'I would never do this'.

§183. In a subordinate clause, the action or event that is indicated by the perfect is dependent on the situation in the main clause: جلس حيث جلس *jalsi hīthu jalsi* 'He sat where his father had sat', أجمعوا *jalasa haythu jalasa 'abūhu* 'He sat where his father had sat', لك اجتمع الناس *lammā 'jtama'a 'n-nāsu 'ilayya qultu lahum* 'After the people had assembled around me, I said to them ...'.

Note 1. Concerning the use of the perfect without reference to time in generally valid conditional clauses and clauses with conditional implication, see §446 a.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the perfect was sometimes used to represent a hypothetical occurrence: أَسْرَكَ أَنْ أُخْرِجَ *a-sarraka an 'akhruja* ‘Would you really rejoice over my departure?’, وَدَدْتُ أَنْ رَأَيْتُ *wadidtu annahū ra-anī* ‘I wished that he had seen me’. In classical prose usage, the imperfect (§185 d) or *kāna* with the imperfect (192.3) has replaced the perfect here.

Use of the Imperfect

§184. The imperfect indicates a continuing or possibly continuing process independent of the time in which the event takes place. It can be a single continuing process, a repeatedly occurring event, or an act that occurs over and over (habitual action). If the context does not refer to the past, the imperfect indicates the present or future.

Note 1. The imperfect is as a rule negated with لَا *lā* (§318).

Note 2. Note that only verbs of durative aspect can be interpreted as expressing a single continuing process: يَتَحَرَّكُ *yataharraku* ‘He is just moving, he is in movement’. The imperfect of verbs of punctual aspect refers to either immediately impending action or a continuously occurring process: يَجِدُ *yajidu* ‘He is about to find’ or ‘He finds again and again’, يَأْتِي *yāti‘i* ‘He is about to come’ or ‘He comes again and again (every day, etc.)’.

§185. For present-time actions, the imperfect is used:

a) to portray an act occurring in the present: أَرَاكَ تَبْكِي *arāka tabkī* ‘I see you crying (literally, that you are crying)’, مَاذَا تَفْعَلُ *mādhā taf'alu* ‘What are you doing?’.

b) to relate a repeatedly occurring act: أَعْفُ عَنِ الْجَاهِلِ وَأَعْطِي التَّسَائِلَ *aṣfū 'an-i 'l-jāhili wa-'uṭī 's-sā'ilā* ‘I always forgive fools and give to those who ask’.

c) to describe a universally occurring act (not limited to any time): التَّمْسَاحُ يَعِيشُ فِي الْمَاءِ (a) *t-timsāḥu ya'išu fī 'l-mā'i* ‘Crocodiles live in the water’.

ناظر d) to introduce an act that is about to occur or might occur: **أولئك يرجون** *nanzuru* 'We are watching (waiting for what will happen)', **الله رحمة الله** *ulā'ika yarjūna rahmata l-lāhi* (Koran 2:218) 'These should hope for the mercy of God', **تسيرون إلى الجبال** *tasīrūna ilā l-jibālī* 'Now they will go into the mountains!'.¹

§186. If the context refers to the past, that which occurred in the past may be described with the imperfect: **إذا أصبح عمرو قال من عدا على إهنا ثم يغدو** *idhā 'aṣbāha 'Amrun qāla man 'adā alā ilāhinā thumma yaghdū yaltamisahū hattā idhā wajadahū qhasalahū* 'When morning came, Amr said, who blasphemed against our God? Then he set out (imperf.) very early to look for him. When he finally found him, he purged him'. Not infrequently, it describes a process that is repeated or continues: **لما قتلوا أنبياء الله من قبل** *lima taqtulūna 'anbiyā'a l-lāhi min qablu* (Koran 2:91) 'Why did you keep killing the prophets of God before?', **بك ويبكي ما شاء الله** *bakā wa-yabkī mā shā'a l-lāhu* 'He cried and kept crying, as long as God willed it'. In this case, the imperfect is usually combined with *kāna* (§192).

Note 1. Dreams and eyewitness reports are frequently rendered in the imperfect: **قال الملك إني أرى سبع بقرات** *qāla 'l-maliku innī 'arā sab'a baqarātin* (Koran 12:43) 'The king said, I saw (in a dream) seven cows'.

§187. a) The reported action can also be rendered in the future: **لا يموت في النار ولا يحيا** *lā yamūtu fī 'n-nāri wa-lā yaḥyā* 'He will not die in hell-fire and will not live'.

b) سوف *sawfa* or سـ *sa-* may be used to indicate the future tense: **إنه سوف يزورك** *innahū sawfa yazūruka* 'He will (certainly) visit you', **سوف أستغفر لك ربى** *sawfa 'astaghfiru lakum rabbī* 'I shall ask my Lord to forgive you' (Koran 12:98), **لقد علمنا أن سيكون ذلك** *la-qad 'alimnā 'an sa-yakūnu dhālikā* 'We already knew that this will be (so)'.

Note 1. *sawfa*, *sa-* are not combined with negative particles. **لن** *lan* with the subjunctive (§196) is used instead.

§188. As it depends on a perfect in the main clause, the imperfect is used to:

a) describe an action occurring at the same time: مَرَّ بِي وَأَنَا أَقْعُدُ *marra bī wa-anā aq'udu* 'He went by me while I was sitting' (§§407 ff.), بَيْنَا أَنَا أَمْشِي إِذْ أَقْبَلَ رَجُلٌ *baynā anā amshī idh aqbala rajulun* 'While I was going there, a man (suddenly) approached' (§444).

b) describe an action that occurs in the immediate future with respect to a perfect in the main clause: أَتَى الْعَيْنِ يَشْرَبُ *ata' l-ayna yashrabu* 'He came to the spring to drink', بَعْثَتِي فِي جَلْبِ أَيْمَهُ *ba'aathanī fī jalabin abī-uhū* 'He sent me with cattle that I was supposed to sell'.

The Verbal Particle *qad*

§189. قد *qad* occurs immediately before the perfect and imperfect.

a) In combination with *qad*, the perfect indicates an action completed already or previous to a certain time. The perfect cannot be used in its narrative function (§181 a) when *qad* appears: قد مات *qad māta* 'He had (at a certain time already) died', قد جئت *qad jutu* 'I have become (am already) hungry'.

b) In combination with *qad*, the imperfect indicates an action that possibly or probably would occur: 'sometimes, perhaps, might occur ...', 'it could be that it will occur': قد أَكْتَبُ *qad aktubu* 'It could be that I shall write', 'sometimes I write', قد يَنَامُونَ وَقَدْ يَأْكُلُونَ *qad yanāmūna wa-qad ya'kulūna* 'They might sleep, they might eat'.

Note 1. Only the negative particle لَا *lā* or short interjections like والله *wa-l-lāhi* 'by God' can come between *qad* and the verb.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *qad* before the imperfect is sometimes used to indicate the past: قد أَرَى غَوَایتَهُم *qad arā ghawāyatahum* 'Then I noticed their error', قد أَدْخَلَ احْبَاءَ *qad adkhulu 'l-khibā'a* 'Then I went (sometimes, would always go) into their tent'.

Use of Compound Verb Forms

§190. The perfect of كَانَ *kāna* ‘he was’ is used in combination with the perfect and imperfect to indicate the past. The imperfect يَكُونُ *yakūnu* ‘he will be’ is used with the perfect to indicate the future. A nominal subject comes between *kāna* / *yakūnu* and the following verb: *kāna* 'r-rajulu *fa'ala* (*yaf'alu*) and *yakūnu* 'r-rajulu *fa'ala*.

Note 1. There are also other verbs that are used to define the tenses with more precision. These verbs specify modes of action (*Aktionsarten*) appropriate to their meanings. The most important verbs of this type are: بَاتَ *bāta*, أَمْسَى *amsā* meaning ‘to become’, ظَلَّ *zalla*, أَصْبَحَ *asbaha*, أَخْذَ *akhadha* meaning ‘begin’ (*§192.1*), and عَادَ *āda* meaning ‘do again’. See §432.

Note 2. كَانَ *kāna* is also used to indicate the past in relation to a nominal clause that describes a condition (§360): أَخْوَهُ غَائِبٌ *akhūhu ghāribun* ‘His brother is missing’: كَانَ أَخْوَهُ غَائِبًا *kāna akhūhu ghāriban* ‘His brother was missing’ (§382 a).

§191. a) كَانَ *kāna* with the perfect refers to actions that have occurred in the past (pluperfect): هَذِهِ أَتَانِكَ الَّتِي كَنْتَ خَرَجْتَ عَلَيْهَا *hādhīhī atānukī llātī kunti kharajti alayhā* ‘This is your (fem.) she-ass on which you had gone out’.

b) قد *qad* comes either before *kāna* or before the following perfect: قد كَانَ رَأَى مِنْكَ مِثْلَ مَا رَأَيْنَا *qad kāna ra'ā minka mithla mā ra'aynā* = كَانَ قد رَأَى ... ‘he had already noticed the same (qualities) in you that we noticed’.

Note 1. Concerning *kāna* referring to the past in conditional clauses, see §446 b.

§192. When used with the imperfect، كَانَ *kāna* describes an action that is occurring, is continuing, or occurs repeatedly in the past: كَانَ الْمَلِكُ يَمْرُّ بِهِ *kāna 'l-maliku yamurru bihī* ‘The king was passing by him then’, يوماً خَرَجَتْ *yawman kharajat kamā kānat taṣna'u* ‘One day she went out, just as she used to do’, كان يَكُونُ فِي الْبَيْتِ *kāna yakūnu fī 'l-bayti* ‘He always (usually, continually) was in the house’.

Note 1. أخذ *ja'ala* or فعل يُستبطئ *akhadha* is used to express an action begun in the past: *fa-ja'ala yastabtiu 'l-amra* 'From now on, he found (began to find) that the matter was proceeding too slowly'. See also §432.

Note 2. The negative equivalent of *kāna* is *lam yakun* (§194.1).

Note 3. Sometimes *kāna* is used with the imperfect to express an action that could have occurred in the past or should have: كَانَ يَكُونُ سُوءٌ أَدْبٌ *kāna yakūnu sīwā adabīn* 'It would have been a misbehavior', فَكَيْفَ كَانَ يَقُولُ *fa-kayfa kāna yaqūlu* 'How should he have said it?'.

Note 4. If it occurs in combination with more than one imperfect form joined by *wa-* 'and', *kāna* is used only once.

§193. يَكُونُ *yakūnu* in combination with the perfect indicates that the action is conceived of as having been completed in the future (future perfect): فَلَنَاخْذُهُ فَنَكُونُ قَدْ أَخْذَنَا عَوْضًا *fal-na'khudhhu fa-nakūnu qad akhadhnā iwaydan* 'Let us take him, for then we should have taken a substitute'.

Note 1. Concerning the subjunctive يَكُونُ *yakūna* in this construction, see §197; see §222.2 on the imperative كُن *kun*.

Use of the Jussive

§194. The jussive is used as a perfect: a) in combination with لَمْ *lam* 'not' and لَمْ *lammā* 'not yet': لَمْ يَأْتِ *lam yati* 'He did not come', لَمْ يَأْتِ *lammā yati* 'He has not yet come'.

Note 1. لَمْ يَكُن *lam yakun* is the negative equivalent of *kāna* in verbal constructions: أَوْلَمْ أَكْنَ حَذَرْتَكَ *a-wa-lam yakun hadhdhartuka* 'Had I not warned you?', لَمْ يَكُن يَسْمَعْ *lam yakun yasma'u* 'As usual, he heard nothing then'.

b) In conditional clauses (§446 a) and in the apodosis after imperatives (§412).

§195. The jussive implies an order: a) It is combined with the particle *li-* in the positive: لَيْأَتِ *li-yati* 'Let him come!'.

Note 1. After *wa-* and *fa-* (§§328 f), *li* is abbreviated to *l-*: فلنأخذ *fal-nakhudh* 'So let us take!'.¹

b) In combination with the negative ل *lā*, the jussive implies a negative order (prohibition): لَا تقتل *lā taqtul* 'You shall not kill, do not kill!', لَا يحزنك الله *lā yuhzinkum-u* 'l-lāhu 'May God not cause you grief!'.

Use of the Subjunctive

§196. a) The subjunctive indicates an action as intended or expected; it occurs only in a subordinate clause: اغفر لي يا رب فادخل الجنة (i) *ghfir li yā rabbi fa-adkhula l-jannata* 'Forgive me, my Lord, so that I might enter Paradise!', ما منك ألا تسجد إذ أمرتك *mā manak ala tasjuda idh amartuka* (Koran 7:12) 'What prevented you from prostrating yourself when I had given you the command?'. The subjunctive is negated with ل *lā*.

b) The subjunctive comes after the particles: أن *an* 'that' and آل *allā* (< 'an-lā §45) 'that not, lest' (§414), كي *kay* and ل *li-* 'that, in order that' (§438), ف *fa-* 'so that' (§410), أو *aw* 'unless' (§411), and حتى *hattā* 'until (that)' (§439 b); see also §345.

Note 1. The subjunctive follows *an* and *hattā* only if an intention or possible result is expressed. Otherwise, the perfect or imperfect is used: أعلم أن نام (ينام) *aṣlamu an nāma (yanāmu)* 'I know that he slept (sleeps)', مرض حتى لا يرجونه *mariḍa hattā lā yarjūnahū* 'He is so sick that they have no hope for him'. In post-classical Arabic, however, the subjunctive is used most of the time indiscriminately after *an* and *hattā*.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the subjunctive is attested on occasion even after إذ *idhan* 'then', ثم *thumma* 'then', and و *wa-* 'and then'.

c) ل *lan* with the subjunctive (< **lā an*) is used to negate future actions (§187): لن يزوركم أبداً *lan yazūrakum abadan* 'He will never visit you'.

Note 3. The subjunctive is not used after the future particles *sawfa*, *sa-*.

§197. An action that might have occurred is expressed after a subjunctive particle with *yakūna* and a following perfect: عسى أن يكون سمع متى *ikūn*: يكُون *asā an yakūna sami'a minnī* 'Perhaps he has heard about me' (§342.2),

خاف أن يكون قد أخطأ *khāfa ḥan yakūna qad ḥakhtā'a* 'He feared that he could have committed an error', لا تطلب الفساد في الدنيا فتكون قد نسيت *lā taṭlub-i 'l-fasāda fi 'd-dunyā fa-takūna qad naṣīta naṣī-baka min-a 'l-ākhirati* 'Do not seek evil in this world, lest you would have forgotten your share in the hereafter' (§410).

Use of the Energetic

§198. The energetic is used to introduce an action that is certain to occur (e.g., in an oath). In the positive, it occurs with the prefixed particle *la-* (§334): *la-tubāyi'unna ḥaw la-ruharriqannakum* 'You will absolutely pay homage, or I shall certainly burn you up', حلف ليقتلن أو لأحرقتكم *ḥalafa la-yaqtulanna* 'He swore he will certainly kill'. The energetic is negated with *لَا lā*.

Note 1. The second person frequently has the sense of an order: لا تقولن *lā taqūlannā* 'Do not indeed say anything!'

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the energetic also occurs in conditional sentences (§§450.1; 451) and in interrogative sentences (without *la-*).

Use of the Passive

§199. a) The passive is the form of the verb in which the agent is not named. The agent either is unknown or is intentionally not identified: قُتِلَ أخوك *qutila 'akhūka* 'Your brother was killed', أُمِرْتُ أَهْوَك *'umirta 'ahwak* 'you were ordered, instructed'; cf. §405 b.

Note 1. Divine or supernatural powers (God, fate, etc.) are often left unmentioned: تُوفَّى *tuwuffiya* 'He was taken (by God)', i.e., 'he died'.

Note 2. The cause, origin, and instrument of passive action are occasionally rendered by *li-*, *min*, and *bi* (§§294 ff.): تَرَاعَ لِهِ *turā'u lahū* 'He was terrified of him', أُسْكِرَ مِنَ الْخَمْرِ *ruskira min-a 'l-khamri* 'He was made drunk by the wine', أُرْضَعَنَا بِهِ *urdīnā bihā* 'we were suckled by her'.

b) Intransitive reflexive verbs do not have a subject in the passive. As a rule, they then have a prepositional complement: يَسَارُ إِلَيْهَا *yusāru 'ilayhā* (أُخْتَلَفَ فِي ذَلِكَ *u) khtulifa fi dhālikā*) 'It was traveled to, one travels to it', (أُخْتَلَفَ فِي ذَلِكَ *u) khtulifa fi dhālikā*) 'There was disagreement over that'.

Note 3. Transitive verbs too can be used in the passive without subject, if they have a complement: غشي عليه *ghushiyā 'alayhi* ‘It was covered over him’, i.e., ‘He became unconscious’.

§200. In passive constructions with transitive verbs, the direct object (§373) becomes the subject. All additional complements, whether accusatives or prepositions, remain unchanged.

a) Verbs with accusatives: أُوتيت الكتاب *'ūtīta 'l-kitābā* ‘You were brought the book’, يسمى عليا *yusammā 'Aliyan* ‘He is called Ali’, تُبَرِّوا تَبَرِّيَا *tubbirū tatbirān* ‘They were completely mangled’ (§376)

b) Verbs with prepositions: أُتى بكتاب *'utiya bi-kitābin* ‘He was brought a book’, يلقَب بالجاحظ *yulaqqab bi-'l-Jāhizi* ‘He is called by the *laqab* “goggle-eyed”’.

Note 1. The passive participle is treated the same way: المسما علىا *(a) 'l-musammā 'Aliyan* ‘the one named Ali’, المعروف بالجاحظ *(a) 'l-ma'rūfu bi-'l-Jāhizi* ‘The one known as al-Jāhīz’. See also §204.

Use of the Participle

§201. Participles are adjectives that represent the meaning of the verb as an attribute. Active and passive participles can have both perfect and imperfect (§180) meanings: ضارب *dāribun* ‘one who has hit’ and ‘one who hits, will hit, can hit’, مشروب *mashrūbun* ‘drunk’ and ‘something that is drunk, can be drunk; drinkable’. The imperfect meaning is associated more often with the active participle, perfect meaning more often with the passive participle.

Note 1. Other verbal adjectives, especially those of the morpheme categories *fa'ilun*, *fa'ūlun* (§120), *fa'ālun* (§115), may also assume participle-like functions. Participles are usually not formed from verbs that refer to qualities (§163); rather, verbal adjectives in morpheme categories *fa'alun*, *fa'ilun*, *fa'ulun* (§115) are used.

§202. The active participle as a nominal predicate (§361) functions very much like an imperfect. It is used:

a) as a perfect participle, to represent an action that has begun and still continues: **غَدَوْتُ إِلَيْهِ فَإِذَا هُوَ قَائِمٌ يَصْلَى** *ghadawtu ilayhi fa-idhā huwa qārimun yuṣallī* 'I went in the early morning to him, just as he was engaged in prayer' ('having stood up'), **بَيْنَا نَحْنُ مُتَوَقَّفُونَ إِذْ نُودِي**, *baynā naḥnu mutawaqqifuna idh nūdiya* 'As we stood there ('having stopped'), he was called'.

b) as an imperfect participle, to represent an action that has not yet been realized but is expected to be taken: **هُوَ كَاتِبٌ** *huwa kātibun* 'He is in a position to, just about to write' or simply 'He is a writer', **أَنَا رَاجِعٌ إِلَيْهِمْ فَدَاعِيهِمْ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ**, *anā rāji‘un ilayhim fa-dā‘ihim ilā l-islāmi* 'I was about (have already decided) to return to them and call them to Islam'. Frequently, it occurs after the negative particles **مَا** and **لَيْسَ** *mā* and *laysa* (§§321; 323): **لَسْتُ بِفَاعِلٍ (فَاعِلًا)** *lastu bi-fā‘ilin* (*fā‘ilan*) or **مَا أَنَا بِفَاعِلٍ (مَا فَاعِلًا)** *mā anā bi-fā‘ilin* 'I will not (cannot) do it'.

Note 1. Infrequently, there is no subject: **أَفْهَادْ مَا قَدْ بَنَيْتَ**, *a-fa-hādimun mā qad banaytu* 'Will you destroy what I have built?'.

c) as a circumstantial accusative (§§380 ff.), the participle functions much like the imperfect (§188): **رَأَهُ بَاكِيًّا** *ra‘āhu bākiyan* (*yabkī*) 'He saw him crying (cry)', **خَرَجَ هَارِبًا** *kharaja hāriban* (*yahrubu*) 'He went out to flee'. The perfect participle can be used in place of *qad* with the perfect (§189 a): **لَا أَتَيْكَ حُمْرَمًا (وَقَدْ أَجْرَمْتَ)**, *lā ‘ātik ḥurmā (wa-qad ajramtu)* 'I shall not come to you as one who has committed a crime'.

§203. The active participle can behave like a verb in constructions with an accusative object and like a noun in constructions with a genitive object (§386b).

a) The perfect participle as a rule is found in constructions with the genitive and thus functions as a substantive: **اللهُ خَالِقُ الْأَرْضِ**, *al-lāhu khāliqu l-‘arḍi* 'God is the creator of the earth'. Cf. §146.2.

b) The imperfect participle occurs in constructions with the accusative or the genitive: **ضَارِبٌ أَخَاهُ = ضَارِبٌ أَخِيهِ**, *dāribu ‘akhīhi = dāribun ‘akhīhū* 'striking his brother', **كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَاقَتُ الْمَوْتَ**, *kullu nafsin dhāraqatū l-mauti* (Koran 3:185; 21:35; 29:57) 'Every soul will taste death'. The accusative

may also follow when the participle functions as a substantive: طالب الثأر *tālibun-i 'th-thara*, الطالب الثأر (*a*) *t-ṭālibu 'th-thara* 'one who seeks blood revenge', 'the one who seeks blood revenge'. See §146 concerning the definiteness of the construct state.

Note 1. Personal pronominal suffixes on participles are usually interpreted as genitives: ضاربه *dāribuhū* 'hitting him', ضاربي *dāribī* 'hitting me', rarely ضاربني *dāribunī* 'hitting me' (§268).

Note 2. The accusative can be replaced by *li-* (§295 a): الطالب للعلم *t-ṭālibu lil-ilmi* 'the one who seeks knowledge'. This construction is obligatory when the object precedes the participle: للضييف مكرم *lid-dayfi mukrimun* 'honoring the guest'.

Note 3. Verbal adjectives (§201.1) and elatives occur in constructions similar to those of the corresponding participles: هو أطلب للعلم منك *huwa 'atlabu lil-ilmi minkum* 'He seeks knowledge more eagerly than you'.

Note 4. Concerning the active participle in the role of indeterminate subject, see §358 b.

§204. The prepositional complement (§199 b) associated with a participle of a passive without subject takes a personal pronominal suffix that refers to the thing or person mentioned: مغشى عليه *magħshīyūn alayhi* 'covered over him', 'unconscious', parallel to غشي عليه *ghušhiya alayhi* 'It was covered over him', موثوق به *mawθiqun bihi* 'someone on whom one relies', i.e., 'reliable', parallel to وثق به *wuθiqā bihi* 'It is relied on him, he is relied on'. Although the passive participle without subject does not agree grammatically, the personal suffix does agree with the substantive to which it is subordinate: أنت موثوق بك *anta mawθiqun bika* 'You are reliable', صحيفه مختوم على أسفلاها *sahifatun makhtūmun ala 'asfaliha* 'a leaf the verso of which bears a seal', رجال مغضوب عليهم *rijālun magħdūbun alayhim* 'men at whom they are annoyed, annoying men'.

Note 1. The prepositional complement is lacking in passive participles of the derived verbal stems, if they are used as *nomen loci* or as verbal substantives (§78.3): مستنقع *mustanqa'un* 'where water collects, bog'.

Use of Verbal Substantives

§205. Verbal substantives embody the meaning of the verb without any of its functional properties: قتل *qatlun* ‘killing, having killed, being killed’. They are used to rephrase a verb as a noun: إن خروجه كان غضباً *inna khurūjahu kāna qhadabān* ‘His exit was undertaken in anger’; to change a verb into a nominal subordinate: يستطيع بلوغ حاجته *yastati'u bulūgha hā-jatihi* ‘He is able to attain what he needs’; as an inner object (§§376 f.): ضربه ضرباً *darabahū darban* ‘He struck him a blow, i.e., hit him hard’.

§206. A verbal substantive can be combined, like a noun, with a genitive or, like a verb, with an accusative or preposition:

a) The genitive takes the place of the subject or object (or ‘passive subject) of the verb: قتل أخيه *qatlū 'akhīhi* ‘the fact that his brother has killed’ and ‘the fact that someone has killed his brother, or the fact that his brother has been killed’.

Note 1. A verbal substantive of a verb that takes a prepositional complement also appears with the same complement: a-الاطلاع على الكتب *ittilā'u 'alā al-kutubi* ‘studying books’.

b) The accusative occurs for the object when the genitive position is occupied by a subject genitive, when the verbal substantive is made definite by the article, or when the substantive is indefinite: قتلك أخاه *qatlukā 'akhā-hu* ‘your having killed his brother’, ضعيف النكارة أعداءه *darifu 'n-nikāyati* ‘a-dā'ahū ‘weak in injuring his enemies’, ضرب بالسيوف رؤوسهم *darbun bi-'s-suyūfi rurūsahum* ‘cutting off their heads with the swords’.

Note 2. See §271.1 on the adding of personal pronominal suffixes to the verbal substantive.

Note 3. The accusative can be replaced by the preposition *li-* (§295 a): له *munāfasatī lahu* ‘my rivalry with him’, بأخذ الدينار *bi-'akhdhīn li-dīnārin* ‘by taking a dinar’.

c) The subject can be in the nominative: أَبْوَكَ وَلَدُهُ (a) *al-ṣarib abūk waladahū* ‘the act of your father having struck his child’. More often, the agent of the action is introduced with *min* (§299 c): اَحَبْتَ مِنِي إِلَيْكَ (a) *al-habib minni ilayka* ‘the love of me (I have) for you’.

Inflection of the Verb

Suffix Conjugation (Perfect)

§207. The following morphemes suffixed to the perfect base (§§163 ff.) constitute the personal inflectional forms:

Sg.	3rd m.	-a	f.	-at	2nd m.	-ta	f.	-ti	1st	-tu
Du.		-ā		-atā		-tumā		-tumā	—	
Pl.		-ū		-na		-tum		-tunna		-nā

Cf. the tables of paradigms, pp. 237–258.

Note 1. On the orthography of the 3rd pl. masc. قَاتَلُوا *qatalū*, see §7.2.

Note 2. If a suffix beginning with *t* or *n* attaches to stem-final *-t* or *-n*, only one ت or ن is written: ثَبَتَ *thabat-tu* ‘I stood firm’, آمَنَتْ *āman-nā* ‘We believed’ (§17.3).

Note 3. On the assimilation of suffixes beginning with *t* to stem-final consonants, see §48.

Note 4. In poetry, تم -*tumū* (§7.5) occurs besides *-tum*.

§208. As a rule, the perfect bases end in single consonants: *qatal-a*, ‘He killed’ *qatal-tu* ‘I killed’. In verb-stems IX and XI, as well as stem IV of four-radical verbs, the final double consonant must be broken up before a suffix that begins with a consonant (§50.2): إِحْرَرَ (i) *hmarr-a* ‘He turned red’, 3rd fem. (i) *hmarr-at*, 3rd pl. (i) *hmarrū*, etc., but 1st sg. (i) *hmaraṛtu*, 1st pl. (i) *hmaraṛna*, etc. Also, اَصْفَارَنَ (i) *sfārra* ‘He turned yellow’, but 3rd pl. fem. (i) *sfārarna*, etc. اَطْمَانَتْ (i) *tma'anna* ‘He became quiet’, but 2nd pl. masc. (i) *tma'nantum*, etc.

Note 1. Stem XV is inflected like III-weak verbs (§§250 ff.): **اعلندي** (·i) *landā* 'He was strong', 3rd sg. fem. **اعلنت** (·i) *landat*, 1st sg. **اعلنديت** (·i) *landaytu*, etc.

§209. The inflection of negative ليس *laysa* 'he is not' (§323) follows that of the suffix conjugation: sg. 3rd masc. ليس *laysa*, fem. ليست *laysat*, 2nd masc. لست *lasta*, fem. lastu, 1st masc. لست *lasti*, dual 3rd masc. ليسا *laysā*, fem. لسن *laysatā*, 2nd masc. لستما *lastumā*, pl. 3rd masc. ليسوا *laysū*, fem. لسنا *laysnā*, 2nd masc. لستن *lastum*, fem. لستن *lastunna*, 1st masc. لستنا *laysnā*. Cf. §52.

§210. Passive: Rather than the perfect stem-vowels *a - a*, and, in the basic stem, also *a - i*, the passive has the vowel sequence *u - i*.

a) Passive perfect: فعل *fuila* from *fa^aala* (I), *fu^uila* from *fa^aala* (II), *fūila* from *fa^aala* (III), أفعل *ufila* from *af^aala* (IV), *fwl₃il₄a* from *fa^al₃al₄a* (four-radical I).

b) In verb stems formed with *ta-*, the vowel of the prefix is assimilated to the *u* of the stem: تفعل *tufu^uila* from *tafa^aala* (V), تفعلن *tufū^uila* from *tafa^aala* (VI), تفعّل *tufw_l₃il₄a* from *tafa^al₃al₄a* (four-radical II).

c) Auxiliary vowels in stems beginning with double consonants are likewise assimilated (§54 b): افعل *nfuila* from (·i) *nfa^aala* (VII), افعلن *ftwila* from (·i) *fta^aala* (VIII), استفعل *stufila* from (·i) *staf^aala* (X), افتعل *funk_l₃il₄a* from (·i) *f^anl₃al₄a* (four-radical III), افعلن *f^aul₃ill₄a* from (·i) *f^aal₃all₄a* (four-radical IV).

Note 1. In poetry, فعل *fuila*, fem. فعلت *fu^ulat* occur occasionally for *fuila*, fem. *fu^ulat*. Cf. §163.1.

Prefix Conjugation

§211. The imperfect base is inflected with prefixed morphemes to indicate person and suffixes to indicate plural and dual. The prefixes appear in two series:

a) *a*-series:

	3rd m.	f.	2nd m.	f.	1st
Sg.	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta- ... ī</i>	<i>'a-</i>
Du.	<i>ya- ... -ā</i>	<i>ta- ... -ā</i>	<i>ta- ... -ā</i>	<i>ta- ... -ā</i>	—
Pl.	<i>ya- ... -ū</i>	<i>ya- ... -na</i>	<i>ta- ... -ū</i>	<i>ta- ... -na</i>	<i>na-</i>

The *a*-series occurs in the active of the basic stem, stems V–XV, and stems II–IV of four-radical stems.

Note 1. If *ta-* appears before *ta-* when it is part of the stem in forms V, VI, or II (four-radical), the sequence *ta-ta-* of the prefix can be simplified to *ta-* (§49 a): تعلم *ta'allamu* for تتعلّم *tata'allamu* ‘you learn, she learns’.

b) *u*-series:

	3rd m.	f.	2nd m.	f.	1st
Sg.	<i>yu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu- ... -ī</i>	<i>'u-</i>
Du.	<i>yu- ... -ā</i>	<i>tu- ... -ā</i>	<i>tu- ... -ā</i>	<i>tu- ... -ā</i>	—
Pl.	<i>yu- ... -ū</i>	<i>yu- ... -na</i>	<i>tu- ... -ū</i>	<i>tu- ... -na</i>	<i>nu-</i>

The *u*-series occurs in the active of stems II, III, and IV, as well as in the basic stem of four-radical verbs. In addition, it occurs in the passive of all the verb stems. See the paradigms, pp. 237–258 ff.

Note 2. As a dialect variant, an *i*-series is attested in the *a*-class of the imperfect basis (§216): ‘*alima* ‘know’ : non-classical imperfect *ti'lamu* (Cf. §§241.3; 244.3).

§212. A distinctive feature of the imperfect in all forms that do not have supplementary suffixes is the *u*-morpheme: يقتل *ya-qtul-u* ‘He kills’, تقتل *ta-qtul-u* ‘She kills’, ‘you (masc.) kill’, أقتل *a-qtul-u* ‘I kill’, نقتل *na-qtul-u* ‘We kill’. The supplementary suffixes *-ī*, *-ā*, *-ū* are extended in the imperfect by the addition of *-na/ni* to *-īna*, *-āni*, *-ūna*: تقتلن *ta-qtul-īna* ‘You (fem. sg.) kill’, يقتلن *ya-qtul-āni* ‘Both of them kill’, تقتلان *ta-qtul-āni* ‘Both of them (fem.) kill’, both of you kill’, يقتلون *ya-qtul-ūna* ‘They (masc.) kill’, تقتلون *ta-qtul-ūna* ‘You (masc. pl.) kill’. The plural feminine forms are: يقتلن *ya-qtul-na* ‘They (fem.) kill’, تقتلن *ta-qtul-na* ‘You (fem.) kill’.

§213. The subjunctive is distinguished by the *-a* morpheme. The supplementary suffixes are not extended: يقتل *ya-qtul-a*, تقتل *ta-qtul-a*, يقتل *ta-qtul-i*, أقتل *a-qtul-a*, يقتلا *ya-qtul-ā*, تقتلا *ta-qtul-ā*, يقتلون *ya-qtul-ū*, تقتلون *ta-qtul-ū*, يقتلن *na-qtul-a*.

§214. The jussive is distinguished by the absence of endings. The supplementary suffixes are not extended: يقتل *ya-qtul*, تقتل *ta-qtul*, يقتل *ta-qtul-i*, أقتل *a-qtul*, يقتلا *ya-qtul-ā*, تقتلا *ta-qtul-ā*, يقتلوا *ya-qtul-ū*, يقتلن *ya-qtul-na*, تقتلوا *ta-qtul-na*, يقتل *na-qtul*.

§215. The energetic is distinguished by the *-anna* morpheme (energetic I) or by the *-an* morpheme (energetic II): يقتلن *ya-qtul-an(na)*, تقتلن *ta-qtul-an(na)*, أقتلن *a-qtul-an(na)*, نقتلن *na-qtul-an(na)*. The supplementary suffixes *-i*, *-ū*, are shortened before *-n(na)*: يقتلن *ya-qtul-un(na)*, تقتلن *ta-qtul-un(na)*. In the dual, *-ā-ann(a) becomes -ānni without the shortening of ā; and in the fem. pl., *-na-ann(a) becomes -nānni: يقتلناني *ya-qtul-ānni*, تقتلناني *ta-qtul-ānni*, يقتلناي *ya-qtul-nānni*, تقتلناي *ta-qtul-nānni*.

Note 1. On the spelling of يقتلن *yaqtulan* or يقتلا *yaqtulan*, see §11.3. The pausal form is يقتلا *yaqtulā*.

Imperfect Base

§216. The imperfect base in the active of the basic stem has three vowel classes: *-fa'l*, *-fa'il*, *-fa'ul*. Among the vowel classes of the perfect base (§163) and the imperfect base, six combinations are possible:

1st	Perf. <i>fa'ala</i> :	Imperf. <i>yaf'alu</i>	4.	Perf. <i>fa'ila</i> :	Imperf. <i>yaf'alu</i>
2nd	<i>fa'ala</i> :	<i>yaf'ilu</i>	5.	<i>fa'ula</i> :	<i>yaf'ulu</i>
3rd	<i>fa'ala</i> :	<i>yaf'alu</i>	6.	<i>fa'ila</i> :	<i>yaf'ilu</i>

Most verbs of the pattern *fa'ala* belong to classes 1 and 2 (see §163). The *a* of the imperfect base of those in class 3 is conditioned by a laryngeal or pharyngal: قرأ *qara'a* (يقرأ *yaqrā'u*) 'read, recite', ذهب *dhababa* (ينذهب *yadhababu*) 'go away'. The perfect base *fa'ila* regularly has the imperfect *yaf'alu* (class 4): شرب *shariba* (يشرب *yashrabu*) 'drink'. Likewise the imperfect *yaf'ulu* (class 5) consistently belongs to perfect *fa'ula*. Class 6 is represented solely by حسب *hasiba* (محسب *yaḥsibu*, *yaḥsabu*) 'consider'.

Note 1. The imperfect base can belong to more than one vowel class without any variation in meaning: دبغ *dabagha* (دبغ *yadbughu*, *yadbighu*, *yadbaghu*) 'tan' (hide), نسج *nasaja* (نسج *yansuju*, *yansiju*) 'weave'. Sometimes variation in the vowel class makes a distinction in meaning: فصل *faṣala* (فصل *yafṣalu*) 'separate', فصل *faṣala* (فصل *yafṣulu*) 'depart'.

Note 2. Frequently with attributive verbs, the imperfect base *u*-class can be conjoined with both *fa‘ula* and *fa‘ala*: شحب *shahaba* or *shahuba* (شحب *yashhubu*) 'look sickly'.

Note 3. Not all verbs with a laryngeal or pharyngal as second or third radical belong in the imperfect to the *a*-class: رجع *raja'a* (رجع *yarji'u*) 'return', طلع *tala'a* (طلع *yatlū'u*) 'rise'.

§217. a) Verb stems formed with *ta-*, namely, V, VI, and four-radical II, have the same stem form with the vowel sequence *a - a* in both perfect and imperfect: Perf. *tafa‘ala* : Imperf. *ya-tafa‘al-u*. See §§167 f.; 175.

b) All other derived stems have the vowel sequence *a - i* in the imperfect base: *yu-fa‘il-u* (II), *ya-nfa‘il-u* (VII), *ya-fanlil-u* (four-radical III), etc. Stem IV drops *'a* from the stem after the inflectional prefix: 'arsala 'send': **yu-arsilu* > *yursilu*. Cf. §164 ff.

§218. The final double consonant in stems IX, XI, and four-radical IV must be broken up before the supplementary suffix *-na*, beginning with a consonant, and in forms of the jussive without an ending (§208). The imperfect base is then: IX *-falil*, XI *-fālil*, four-radical IV *-fal₃l₄il*: يحمر *yahmarru* 'he becomes red' : يحمررن *yahmarirna*, يصفار *yasfārru* 'he turns yellow' : يصفاررن *yasfārirna*, يطمئن *yatma‘inu* 'he becomes quiet' : يطمئنن *yatma‘innu*. In the jussive forms without an ending, the consonant cluster can be preserved with an auxiliary vowel (§53): يحمر *yahmarir* or يحمر *yahmarr-i*, etc.

Note 1. Stem XV imperfect *yaf'anlī* follows the category of III-weak verbs with stem final *i* (§§250 ff.).

Passive

§219. Instead of *i/u*, *a* occurs uniformly in the imperfect base of all passive verb forms. All passive forms are inflected with the *u*-series of prefixes (§211 b): يفعل *yafa/i/alu* : passive *yuf^ualu* (I), يقتل *yufa^uilu* : passive *yufa^ualu* (II), يتفضل *yatafa^ualu* : passive *yutafa^ualu* (V), يستفعل *yastaf^uilu* : passive *yustaf^ualu* (X), etc.

Note 1. As a result of the dropping of prefixed 'a- in stem IV, the passive of the basic stem and stem IV merge: يطعم *yut'amu* 'He was eaten', from طعم *ta'ama* (I) 'eat', or 'He was fed', from أطعم *'at'ama* 'feed' (IV).

Imperative

§220. a) The imperfect base without prefix functions as the imperative of the masculine singular. The feminine is marked by -ī, the dual by -ā, the plural by -ū, the feminine plural by -na : قاتل *qātila* (*yu-qātil-u*) 'fight': *qātil* 'Fight!', fem. قاتلي *qātilī*, masc. pl. قاتلوا *qātilū*, fem. *qātilna*; تفکر *tafakkara* (*ya-tafakkar-u*) 'think': *tafakkar* 'Think!', fem. تفکروا *tafakkarū*, fem. *tafakkarna*. The prefix '-a of stem IV is retained in the imperative: أرسل *arsala* 'send' (*yarslu*): أرسيل *arsil* 'Send!', fem. أرسلي *arsili*, masc. pl. أرسلا *arsilū*, fem. أرسلن *arsilna*.

b) An auxiliary vowel (§54 b) is inserted before stems beginning with double-consonant clusters. Within a phrase, the auxiliary is dropped (§§19 ff.). The auxiliary is *u* in *u*-series of the basic stem and *i* in all other stems; أكتب *(i)ktub* 'Write!' from كتب *kataba* يكتب *yaktubu*, فتح *(i)ftah* 'Open!' from فتح *fataha* *yaftaḥu*, إنزل *(i)nzil* 'Come down!' from يفتح *fataḥa* *yaftaḥu*, زر *(i)zr* 'Enter!' from ينزل *yanzilu*, اعترف *(i)tarif* 'Confess!' from ينزل *yanzilu*, استاذن *(i)sta'dhin* 'Ask for permission!' from استاذن *sta'dhana*.

Note 1. In stems IX, XI, and four-radical IV, stem-final double-consonant clusters in the imperative behave as they do in jussives (§218).

§221. a) The imperative can additionally take the energetic ending -an (§215): إفتحن *(i)ftahān* 'Open up!', fem. إفتحن *(i)ftahin*, masc. pl. إفتحن *(i)ftahun*.

b) The imperative cannot be negated. The jussive negated with *lā* (§195 b) functions as a negative imperative (prohibition): لا تفتح *lā taftah* 'Do not open!'.

Note 1. Sometimes the particle يَا *yā* occurs before the imperative: يَا فَرِّ *yā firr* 'Up and into battle!'

§222. In combination with *bi-nā* 'with us', the imperative calls for an action: بِنَا قُمْ *qum binā* 'Stand up with us!', i.e., 'Let's stand up!', أُخْرِجُوا بِنَا *u-khrujū binā* 'Go out with us!', i.e., 'Let's get out of here!'

Note 1. The jussive appears in the apodosis of an imperative phrase (§412).

Note 2. Occasionally the imperative is expressed with the imperative of *kāna* 'be' (§§190 ff.) in combination with the imperfect: فَكِنْ أَنْتَ تَكَلَّمُ *fa-kun 'anta tukallimuhum* 'So you speak to them!'.

Note 3. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperative is linked to a preceding emphatic clause with *fa-* (§329): بِاللَّهِ فَاعْبُدْ *bal-i 'l-lāha fa-'bud* (Koran 39:66) 'Rather worship God!', وَفِي مَالِنَا فَاحْكُمْ *wa-fi mālinā fa-'htakim* 'And with our property, proceed as you will!'.

Participles

§223. The active participle of the three-radical basic stem belongs to the morpheme category *fā'ilun*, fem. *fā'ilatun*. The corresponding passive participle has the morpheme category *mafūlun*, fem. *mafūlatun*: قاتل *qātilun*, fem. قاتلة *qātilatun* 'killing, having killed', مقتول *magtūlun*, fem. مقتولة *magtūlatun* 'killed, one who can (should) be killed'. Participles as a rule form inflected plurals (§§101 f.).

Note 1. See §97 on the plural *fawā'ilu* of *fā'il(at)un*, and §95.3 on the plural *mafā'ilun* of *mafūlun*.

§224. The participles of the derived and four-radical stems are formed from the imperfect base by the addition of the prefix *mu-*. They are inflected as triptotes (§§147 ff.). All stems in the active have the vowel sequence *a - i*, in the passive *a - a*: II. مُفْعَل active *mufā'ilun*, passive *mufā'alun*; III. مُفَاعِل active *mufā'ilun*, passive *mufā'alun*; IV. مُفْعَل active *mufā'ilun*, passive *mufā'alun*; V. مُفْتَعِل active *mutafa'iilun* (!), passive

mutafa‘alun; VI. مفعال active *mutafā‘ilun*, passive *mutafā‘alun*; VII. من فعل active *munfa‘ilun*, passive *munfa‘alun*; VIII. مفتصل active *mufta‘ilun*, passive *mufta‘alun*; X. مستفعل active *mustafā‘ilun*, passive *mustafā‘alun*; four-radical I. مفععل active *mufā‘l3il4un*, passive *mufā‘l3al4un*; II. متفعل active *mutafa‘l3il4un*, passive *mutafa‘l3al4un*; III. متصل active *muf‘anl3il4un*, passive *muf‘anl3al4un*; IV. مفعلن active *muf‘al3ill4un*, passive *muf‘al3all4un*.

Note 1. Stems IX and XI form only active participles مفعل *muf‘allun*, مفعآل *muf‘āllun*.

Verbal Substantives

§225. The verbal substantive is formed from the perfect base. Where the perfect base exhibits the vowel sequence *a - a*, the verbal substantive has *i - ā*. The triptotic inflectional endings (§§147 ff.) attach to the stem. I. *fa‘ala* : *fī‘ālun*, e.g., حساب *hasaba* ‘reckon’ : شفى *shafā* ‘cure’ : شفاء *shifā‘un* (§257 b). This form of the verbal substantive occurs infrequently in the basic stem. Most often the morpheme category *fa‘lun* and other categories (§§228 f.) are used.

Note 1. In addition to *fī‘ālun*, *fa‘ālun* occurs: هلاك *halaka* ‘perish’ : هلاك *halākun*, فساد *fasada* ‘spoil’ : فساد *fasādun*. Without an ending, **fa‘āl* > *fa‘āli* (§53.2) in pre-classical Arabic is used as a command form: نزال *nazāli* ‘Come down!’, سماع *samā‘i* ‘Listen!’ and as a proper name: كساب *Kasābi* ‘Fetch!’ (a dog’s name).

II. *fa‘ala* : *fī‘ālun*, very rare, e.g., كذاب *kadhdhaba* ‘call a liar’ : كذاب *kidhdhābun*. Instead of this form, *taf‘ilun* (§231) is regularly used in form II for the verbal substantive.

III. *fa‘ala* : *fī‘ālun* (instead of **fī‘ālun*): قاتل *qātala* ‘fight’ : قاتل *qitālun*.

Note 2. Because of the semantic ambiguity of the morpheme category *fi‘ālun*, the feminine passive participle frequently occurs as a verbal substantive: جادل *jādala* ‘quarrel’ : محادلة *mujādalatun* (cf. §230.1).

IV. ’af‘ala : ’if‘ālun: أكمال *ikmāl*: إكمال *ikmālun*.

VII. (*i*)nfa‘ala: (*i*)nfī‘ālun: افعال *anfā‘alun*.

VIII. (·i)fta^cala: افتعال (·i)fti^cālun.

IX. (·i)f alla: افعال (·i)f ilālun.

X. (·i)staf^cala: استفعال (·i)stif^cālun.

XI. (·i)f ālla: افعیال (·i)f ilālun.

XII. (·i)f awala: افعیمال (·i)f i^cālun.

XIII. (·i)f awwala: افعوال (·i)f iuwālun.

XIV. (·i)f anlala: افعلنال (·i)f inlālun.

XV. (·i)f anlā: افعناء (·i)f inlā'un.

§226. Four-radical verbal substantives have the same formation pattern: *fa'l₃al₄a* : *fī'l₃āl₄un*: زلزال *zalzala* 'shake' : زلزال *zilzālun*. More often the morpheme category *fa'l₃al₄atun* (§75.1) occurs instead.

Note 1. Four-radical *fa'l₃āl₄un*: زلزال *zalzālun* corresponds to the morpheme category *fa'ālun* (§225.1).

III. (·i)f anl₃al₄a: افعلنال (·i)f inl₃āl₄un.

IV. (·i)f al₃all₄a: افعلال (·i)f il₃l₄āl₄un.

Note 2. *fū'al₃l₄āl₄atun* occurs also in form IV of four-radical stems: اطمئنان = طمأنينة *tūma'nīnatun* = *tūmī'nānun*.

§227. Verbal stems formed with *ta*-prefix change the last *a* of the perfect base to *u* in verbal substantives:

V. *tafa^cala*: تفعل *tafa^culun*.

VI. *tafā^cala*: تفاعل *tafā^culun*.

II. four-radical *tafa'l₃al₄a*: تفعل *tafa'l₃ul₄un*.

Note 1. A verbal substantive of stem V *tifi^cālun*, which is formed on the *fī'ālun* model, is occasionally attested: تملق *tamallaqa* 'flatter' : *timillāqun*.

§228. In the basic stem, abstract substantives of various morpheme categories occur as verbal substantives. The following classes occur commonly:

fa'ala : *fa'lun*, e.g.: لمس *lamasa* ‘touch’ : لامس *lamsun*.

fa'ilā : *fa'alun*, e.g.: كدر *kadira* ‘be turbid’ : Kadur *kadarun*.

fa'ula : *fa'ālatun*, e.g.: رذل *radhula* ‘be lowly, common’ : رذلة *radhālatun*.

fa'l₃al₄a : *fa'l₃al₄atun*, e.g.: قلقلة *qalqala* ‘disturb’ : Qalqala *qalqalatun*.

Note 1. In roots with *r*, *l*, *h*, *h*, *gh*, ‘ as the second radical, *fa'lun* frequently becomes *fa'alun*, more rarely *fa'ilun*, with the addition of a secondary vowel (§38): طلب *talaba* ‘seek’ : طلب *talabun* (rather than **talbun*).

§229. In addition to the verbal substantives cited thus far, numerous other morpheme categories occur in the basic stem. As verbal substantives they are typically associated with specific semantic groups. The most important types are:

fu'ūlun, motion: دخل *dakhala* ‘enter’ : دخول *dukhūlun*, جلس *jalasa* ‘sit up’ : جلوس *julūsun*.

fa'īlun, sound and motion: صفر *safara* ‘whistle’ : صفير *safirun*, رحل *rahala* ‘depart’ : رحيل *rahilun*.

fu'ālun, sound: سأّل *savala* ‘ask’ : سؤال *swālun*, نبح *nabaha* ‘bark’ : نباح *nubāhun*.

fu'ūlatun, attribution: صعب *sauba* ‘be difficult’ : صعوبة *su'ūbatun*, سهل *sahula* ‘be easy’ : سهولة *suhūlatun*.

fa'ālānun, repetition: حفقان *khafaqa* ‘flutter’ : حفقة *khafaqānun*, سجمان *sajama* ‘shed (tears)’ : سجمان *sajamānun*.

fi'lun, remembering: حفظ *hafiza* ‘preserve, retain in memory’ : حفظ *hifzun*, علم *alima* ‘know’ : علم *ilmun*.

Other morpheme categories that occur as verbal substantives are: فعل *fūlun*, فعلان *fi'lānun*, فعلن *fūlānun*, فعل *fa'ūlun*, فعلة *fi'ālatun*.

§230. Morpheme categories formed with *ma-* prefix (§78) frequently function as verbal substantives: *maf'alun*, *maf'ilun*, *maf'alatun*, *maf'latun*, *maf'ulatun*, e.g., حمل *hamala* ‘carry’ : حمل *maḥmalun*, قرب *qaruba* ‘be near’ : مقربة *maqrabatun*, *maqrubatun*, عرف *arafa* ‘recognize’ : معرفة *maqrabatun*, *maqrubatun*, مقدرة *marifatun*, *marifatun*, قدر *qadara* ‘possess power’ : مقدرة *maqdaratun*, *maqdiratun*, *maqduratun*. In the derived verbal stems, the passive participle (§224) also assumes the function of the verbal substantive: أقدم *aqdama* ‘go forward’ : مقدم *muqdamun*, منصرف *nṣarafa* (i.) ‘turn away’ : منصرف *munṣarafun*.

Note 1. As a rule, in verbal stem III, the feminine singular passive participle is used as a verbal substantive rather than the masculine singular passive participle: خطاب *khāṭaba* ‘address’ : خطابة *mukhāṭabatun*. In pre-classical Arabic, the passive participle of the basic stem is sometimes used also as a verbal substantive: رد *radda* ‘send back’ (§233) : مردود *mardūdun*.

§231. Verbal substantives formed with prefixed *ta-/ti-/tu-* are intensive in meaning:

tafālun from the basic stem: طلب *talaba* ‘seek’ : تطلاب *taṭlabun* ‘(intensive) search’.

tafi'lun, regularly the verbal substantive of form II: علم *allama* ‘teach’ : تعلم *ta'līmūn*.

Note 1. In III-weak verbs, *tafilatun* (§257.2) replaces *tafi'lun*. On occasion, *tafilatun* also occurs with other types of roots: جرب *jarraba* ‘test’ : تجربة *tajribatun*. cf. also §237.3.

Note 2. Other morpheme categories formed with *ta-/ti-/tu-* occur only rarely: تفعال *tifālun*, تفعالة *tifālatun*, تفعول *tafi'lun*, تفعلة *tafilatun*, تفعولات *tuf'ulatun*. See also §240.3.

Nouns Expressing a Single Action (*Nomen Vicis*)

§232. *fa'lun*, etc., with the feminine ending *-at* (cf. §84) indicates an action taken once: ضرب *darbun* 'striking' : ضربة *darbatun* 'one strike, blow', جلوس *julūsun* 'sitting' : جلسة *jalsatun* 'a sitting (court)'. This kind of formation is quite rare in other morpheme categories: تكير *takbiratun* 'one cry of *Allāhu akbar*' from تكير *takbirun* (verbal substantive form II).

Note 1. The *nomen vicis* is also used in the dual and plural: ضربتان *darbatāni* 'two blows', ضربات *darabātun* 'several blows' (§105 a).

II-Geminate Verbs (*Verba mediae geminatae*)

§233. a) The two like radicals of verbs with identical second and third radicals form a geminate group, unless syllabification requirements break it up (§50.2). The morphologically conditioned vowel between the second and third radicals is omitted if a morpheme vowel precedes: زر *radda* 'return' = *fa'ala*, ردوا *raddū* = *fa'alū*, زر *rāddun* = *fā'ilun*. The vowel precedes the geminate group if no morpheme vowel precedes: زمر *yaruddu* = *yaf'ulu*, أحب *aḥabba* (يحب *yuhibbu*) 'love' = *af'ala* (*yuf'lu*), stem IV.

Note 1. In stems III and VI and in the participle *fā'ilun*, forms based on three-radical root patterns occasionally occur: تشدد *tashādada* and تشد *tashādda* 'argue with one another', فارر *fārirun* and فار *fārrun* 'fleeing'.

Note 2. In certain cases, stem I *fa'ila* and *fa'ula* attributive verbs can be formed as three-radical roots: قطط *qatīṭa* 'be curly-haired', لبب *labuba* and لب *labba* 'be sensible'.

Note 3. Observe in the imperfect of stems VII, VIII, and X the inconsistent behavior of the stem vowel: ازد *(i)nradda* (نردد *yanraddu*) = *(i)nfa'ala* (*yanfa'iliu*), اترد *(i)rtadda* (تردد *yartaddu*) = *(i)fta'ala* (*yafta'iliu*), استرد *(i)staradda* (يسردد *yastariddu*) = *(i)staf'ala* (*yastaf'iliu*).

b) In stems II and V, II-geminate roots are treated as three-radical roots: رد *raddada* (مردد *yuraddidu*) 'repel', تردد *taraddada* (يتزدد *yataraddadu*) 'be repelled'.

Note 4. In pre-classical Arabic, analogical formations from III-weak verbs (§§250 ff.) occur on occasion: تظنت *tazannaytu* 'I thought' instead of تظننت *tazannantu*, verbal substantive تظن *tazannin* instead of تظنن *tazannunun*.

§234. Syllable structure breaks up the geminate group if it is not followed by a vowel. Accordingly, morphologically conditioned forms occur before consonantal endings: رددت *radadtu*, شم *shamma* 'smell': شمت *shamintu* or *shamamtu*, أحب *aḥabba* 'love': أحببت *aḥbabtu* (IV), اغتم *għtamma* 'be distressed': يغتممن *yagħtamimna* (VIII).

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the geminate group before a consonant suffix in the perfect could be simplified: ظلت *zallu* : ظلت *zallu* or *ziltu* along with أحس *aḥsas*; ظللت *zaliltu*; أحسست *aḥsastu* as well as أحسست *aḥsastu* (IV).

Note 2. On rare occasion, analogical formations from the III-weak verb occur: قص *qassā* : قصت *qassaytu* rather than *qasāstu*, أحس *aḥsas* : أحسنت *aḥsaytu* instead of *aḥsastu*.

§235. In forms of the prefix conjugation and the imperative that do not have endings, the geminate group is preserved when an auxiliary vowel (§53) is inserted. Otherwise, morphologically conditioned forms occur. Either possibility may occur: Jussive يردد *yarudd-i* (-a/u) or يردد *yardud*, يحب *yuhibb-i* (-a) or يحب *yuhbib*, imperative ردد *rudd-i* (-a/u) or اردد *rdud*, أحب *aḥibb-i* (-a) or أحب *aḥbib*.

§236. Nominal morpheme categories are likewise treated according to the rules cited in §50. Observe the verbal substantive تسرة *tasirratun* from سر = *tafilatun* 'be happy', مذمة *madhammatun* from ذم *dhamma* 'blame' = *maf'alatun*. Should a long vowel appear between the second and third radicals, II-geminate roots are treated as three-radical roots: قرار *qarārun* from *qarra* 'dwell', تنان *tanānun* from آن *anna* 'groan'. The same is true for verbal substantives of the derived verb stems: تزدید *tardīdun* (II), زداد *ridādun* (III), إرداد *irdādun* (IV), ازداد *nridādun* (VII), etc.

Note 1. Frequently, *fā'lun* with the preservation of the geminate group occurs alongside *fā'alun* (§50): بَحْلُونَ *bahħlūn* and بَحْلَهُونَ *bahħlūn* from بَحْلَهَا ‘be hoarse’.

Verbs with Weak Radicals

Verbs with *hamzah*

§237. Verbs from roots with ' (hamzah) as the first, second, or third radical for the most part exhibit no variation from the inflectional forms of the three-radical verb. In verbs with I-' the rule of dissimilation of the sequence '— (§40) is in effect for the 1st. sg. imperfect of stems I and IV and for perfect and verbal substantive of stem IV: أَذِنْ *'adhīna* ‘allow’: imperfect 1st. sg. *ādhanu*, but يَأْذِنْ *yādhanu*; stem IV: أَمِنْ *'amīna* < 'a'māna ‘believe’, imperfect 1st. sg. يَأْمِنْ *yāmīnu*, but يُؤْمِنْ *yūmīnu*, verbal substantive إِعْانٌ *i'mānūn* < i'mānūn.

Note 1. Forms beginning with *alif al-wasl* (§§19 ff.) undergo dissimilation only in initial position forms. See §40.1. Note the spelling of imperative forms after *wa-* and *fa-*: فَأُجْرٌ *'ūjur* (< (·u)·jur) ‘reward!’: وَأْجَرْ *wā-jur*, إِتَّفَلْ *'ittalif* (< (·i)·talif) ‘unite!’: وَآتَلَفْ *wā-talif*.

Note 2. See §§247.1; 41 concerning dissimilation of '— in II-weak verbs with ' as the first or third radical.

Note 3. In non-classical Arabic, III-' verbs usually merge with III-weak verbs. Non-classical forms sometimes enter classical texts, e.g., تَبَيَّنَ *nabbā* (تَبَيَّنَ *yunabbi*) in place of تَبَرَّأَ *nabba'a* (تَبَرَّأَ *yunabbi'u*) ‘inform’. In such cases, the verbal substantive *taf'īlatun* (§257.2) is written in a classicizing manner with ': *tanbi'atun* = *tanbiyatun*.

§238. I-' verbs exhibit the following alternative formations: The imperatives of أَخْذْ *akħadha* ‘take’, أَكُلْ *akala* ‘eat’, أَمْرْ *amara* ‘order’ are: خُذْ *khudh*, كُلْ *kul*, مُرْ *mur*. أَخْذْ *akħadha* forms verbal stem VIII like I-w verbs (§242 b): اَتَخْذِنْ *(i)takħadha* ‘assume’. In addition to إِتَّازَرْ *'ittazara* ((·i)·tazara §40.1) ‘wrap oneself in an *izār*’, اَتَّزَرْ *(i)tazara* also occurs.

Note 1. A three-radical imperative form of أَمْرْ *amara* also occurs after وَأْمَرْ *wa-mur*, in addition to وَمُرْ *wa-mur* ‘and order!’.

§239. *Hamzah* in the very frequently occurring verbs سَأَلْ *sāala* 'ask' and رَأَيْ *ra'a* 'see, look' is elided:

a) *sāala*: Imperative سَلْ *sal*, fem. سَلِيْ *salī* and regular أَسَأَلْ *(·i)s'al*, jussive يَسَّأَلْ *yasal* and يَسَّأَلْ *yasal*.

b) *ra'a* (§42) in the prefix conjugation: بَرِيْ *arā*, بَرِيْ *yarā*, jussive يَرَا *yara*, imperative وَرَاهْ *rah* (§240 b), fem. رَيْ *ray*, pl. رَوَاهْ *raw*, fem. رَيْنَاهْ *rayna*; also, in all forms of verbal stem IV: perfect أَرَاهْ *arā* 'show', passive أَرِيْ *uriya*, imperfect بَرِيْ *yuri*, jussive بَرِيْ *yuri*, imperative بَرِيْ *ari*; imperfect passive (stems I and IV) بَرِيْ *yurā*. The inflection follows otherwise that of III-weak verbs (§§250 ff.). See the paradigms, p. 245.

Note 1. In poetry, forms like بَرِأَيْ *yarā* are occasionally encountered. Conversely, ' can more often be found elided. Note cases like سَأَلْ *sāla* 'he asked' < *sāala*.

Note 2. Of *^{*}*ab-aka* 'send', only the imperative أَلَكْ *alik* < *^{*}*ab-ik* exists.

Note 3. All other verbs with ' exhibit stable ' in classical Arabic, e.g., وَأَيْ *waā* يَأْيِيْ *ya'i*, 1st. sing. أَعَيْ *a'i* يَأْيِيْ *ya'i* (يَأْيِيْ *ya'i*) 'promise' (§240 b).

I-Weak Verbs (*Verba primae infirmae*)

§240. a) In the basic stem, most I-w verbs form the imperfect base (active) without *w*: يَجِدْ *ya-jid-u*, وَضَعْ *wada'a* 'put down': يَطَّا *ya-ta'-u*, وَطَئْ *wathiqa* 'rely': يَثِقْ *ya-thiq-u*. Otherwise, the inflection corresponds to that of three-radical verbs. See paradigms, p. 244.

Note 1. The imperfect passive is formed from the *w* stem: يُوجَدْ *yūjadu* (= *yuwjadu*) 'he is found'.

Note 2. دَعْ *wada'a* (يَدْعِ *yada'u*) 'let' usually occurs only in the prefix conjugation: Jussive يَدْعِ *yada'*, imperative دَعْ *da'*. Thus, يَذْهَرْ *yadharu*, which is found exclusively in the prefix conjugation, jussive يَذْهَرْ *yadhar*, imperative ذَهَرْ *dhar*, is classed as if it belonged to a root **w-dh-r*. The imperative عَمْ *'im*, which occurs in the formula صَبَاحًا *sabāha* 'Good morning!', is actually an abbreviation of أَنْعَمْ صَبَاحًا *an-'im sabāha* (root *n-'-m*).

b) Some verbs are both I-w and III-y: وَقَّ *waqā* ‘guard’ : imperfect يَقِّي *yaqī*, jussive يَقِّي *yaqī*; وَلِي *waliya* ‘be near’, imperfect يَلِي *yalī*, jussive يَلِي *yali*. To avoid the short forms *qi*, *li*, the imperative of such verbs always appears in the pausal form (§55): قَهْ *qih*, لَهْ *lih*; but feminine لَيْ *qī*, لَيْ *lī*, etc. Otherwise, they are inflected like III-y verbs (§§250 ff.).

c) The imperfect base without *w* is used to form verbal substantives: ثَقَة *thiqatun* from وَثَقَ *wathiqā* ‘rely’, سَعَة *sa'atun* from وَسَعَ *wasā'a* (يَسَعُ *yasā'u*) ‘be wide’, شَيْة *shiyatun* from وَشَيْ *washā* (يَشِي *yashi*) ‘embellish’.

Note 3. In some verbal substantives, *tu-* appears in place of *w*: تِرَاث *turāthun* ‘inheritance’ from وَرَثَ *waritha* (يَرِثُ *yarithū*) ‘inherit’, نَخْمَة *tukhamatun* ‘indigestion’ from وَخَمَ *wakhima* (يَخِمُ *yakhimu*) ‘suffer from indigestion’.

§241. A few verbs in the category *fa'ila* and all in the category *fa'ula* preserve *w* in the imperfect: وَجَلَ *wajila* ‘be afraid’ : يَوْجَلُ *yawjalu*, وَضَوَّ *waḍwa* ‘be pure’ : يَوْضُو *yawḍwū*. According to §33 a, the imperative becomes إِيجَلْ *tījal* < *('i)wjāl.

Note 1. Some I-w verbs have both types of imperfect: وَحَمَ *wahima* ‘have a craving’ : يَحِمُ *yahimu* or يَوْحَمُ *yawḥamu*.

Note 2. All I-w/II-geminate verbs have stable *w*: وَدَ *wadda* ‘like’ : imperfect يَوْدَدُ *yawaddu*, jussive يَوْدَدَ *yawadd-i* or يَوْدَدُ *yawdad*, imperative وَدَ *wadd-i* or يَوْدَدَ *īdad* < *('i)wdād.

Note 3. **tiw* became *tī* with the *i*-series of the personal prefixes (§211.2): تِيَّجَلْ *tījalu* ‘You are afraid’. When such forms make their way into literature, their vocalization is frequently classicized: تِيَّاجَلْ *tayjalu*. Isolated occurrences of the pre-classical imperfect type يَاجَلْ *yājalu* are attested.

§242. a) The derived verbal stems are formed like three-radical verbs. When the sequence *iw* occurs, it must become *iy* = *ī*: أَوْقَعَ *awqa'a* (يَوْقِعُ *yūqi'u* = *yūwqi'u*) ‘let fall’: Verbal substantive إِيقَاعٌ *īqā'un* (IV), أَسْتَوْدَعَ *astawda'a* (يَسْتَوْدِعُ *ystawdi'u*) ‘deposit’: Verbal substantive إِسْتِدَاعٌ *istidā'un* (X), *('i)wraqqa > إِيرَقْ *īraqqa* (يَوْرَقُ *yawraqqu*) ‘turn ashen’ (IX).

b) In verbal stem VIII, *tt* replaces **wt-*: اَتَسْعِ (·, *i*) *ttasa'a* 'expand' يَتَسْعَ (*yattasiru*) (root *w-s-*, اَتَفَقَ (·, *i*) *ttafaqa* يَتَفَقَّ (*yattafiqu*) 'agree' (root *w-f-q*).

Note 1. See §238 concerning اَتَخَذَ (·, *i*) *ttakhadha* (root ·-*kh-dh*) and اَتَزَرَ (·, *i*) *ttazara* (root ·-*z-r*).

Note 2. In the basic stem, back-formations with I-*t* from verbal stem VIII can occur: اَتَقَىٰ (·, *i*) *taqā* تَقَىٰ 'be pious' from اَتَقَىٰ (·, *i*) *ttaqā* 'fear (God)' (root *w-q-y*).

§243. I-*y* verbs are inflected like three-radical verbs: يَقِظَ *yaqiza* 'be awake' : imperfect يَقِظَ *yayqazu*. The sequence *uy* must become *uw* = *ū* (§33 b): يَقِظَ *ayqaza* 'wake up' : imperfect يَوْقَظَ *yūqizu*, passive يُوَقَّظَ *yūqazu*, verbal substantive إِيَقَاظَ *iqāzun* (IV). Stem VIII of the root *y-s-r* is formed as if it were a I-*w* root: اَتَسْرَ (·, *i*) *ttasara* يَتَسْرَ (*yattasiru*) 'draw lots'.

II-Weak Verbs (*Verba mediae infirmae*)

§244. Verbs with II-*w* and -*y* have a long vowel in place of the second radical. In the basic stem there are three classes of vowels:

II - *w* { 1. قَمَ *qāma* 'stand', 1st sg. قَمْتَ *qumtu* : imperf. يَقُومَ *yaqūmu*
2. نَامَ *nāma* 'sleep', 1st sg. نَمَتَ *nimtu* : imperf. يَنَامَ *yanāmu*

II - *y* { 1. حَارَ *hāra* 'confused', 1st sg. حَرَتَ *hirtu* : imperf. يَحَارُ *yahāru*
3. صَارَ *ṣāra* 'become', 1st sg. صَرَتَ *ṣirtu* : imperf. يَصِيرُ *yaṣīru*

The perfect base exhibits the vowel alternation *ā* : *u/i*, which occurs only in the basic stem. Stems with long vowels (*ā*) occur before vocalic inflectional suffixes: قَامَ *qāma*, قَامَتَا *qāmatā*, قَامَتَ *qāmatā*, قَامَ *qāmū*. Stems with short vowels (*qum-*, *nim-*, *hir-*, *ṣir-*) occur before consonantal suffixes: قَمْتَ *qumta*, نَمَتَ *nimta*, حَرَنَا *hirnā*, صَرَنَا *ṣirna*, etc. In the prefix conjugation, the long vowel stem also occurs before vocalic endings: يَقُومُونَ *yaqūmūna*, يَصِيرُونَ *yaṣīrūna*, etc. The stem vowel is shortened (§52) before the consonantal ending -*na* (fem. pl.) and in forms without endings (jussive, imperative): يَقْمَنَ *yaqumna*, يَحْرَنَ *yaharna*, يَصْرَنَ *yaṣrūna*.

yaşırna, قۇم *qum*, نام *nam*, حەر *har*, سىر *sir*, but feminine قۇمىنىڭ *qumiñi*, نامىنىڭ *namiñi*, etc. See the paradigms, pp. 246 ff.

Note 1. In addition to jussive يَكُن *yakun* from كَانَ *kāna* (كون *yakūnu*) 'be', there is a short form يَكُ *yaku*, which, however, cannot be used before the article (‘a)l- (§142).

Note 2. مات *māta* (موت *yamūtu*) 'die' has a short-vowel perfect base *mit-* and *mut-*: مت *mitta* or مت *mutta*.

Note 3. أَخَالِ *ikhālu* (only in the 1st sing.) from خَالِ *khāla*) يَخَالُ *yakhālu*) 'fancy, believe' originates from a dialect variant *i*-series of personal prefixes (§211.2).

§245. a) In the derived verbal stems with long vowels, there is no difference between II-*w* and II-*y*. There is no vowel alternation in the perfect base:

IV:	perf.	أقام <i>aqāma</i>	1st sing.	أقمت <i>aqamtu</i>
	imperf.	يَقُم <i>yuqīmu</i>	imperat.	أقم <i>aqim</i>
X:	perf.	استقام <i>(‘i) staqāma</i>	1st sing.	استقمت <i>(‘i) stagamtu</i>
	imperf.	يَسْتَقِيم <i>yastaqīmu</i>	imperat.	استقم <i>(‘i) stagim</i>
VII:	perf.	انقام <i>(‘i) nqāma</i>	1st sing.	انقمت <i>(‘i) nqamtu</i>
	imperf.	يَنْقَام <i>yanqāmu</i>	imperat.	انقم <i>(‘i) nqam</i>
VIII:	perf.	اقتام <i>(‘i) qtāma</i>	1st sing.	اقتمت <i>(‘i) qtamtu</i>
	imperf.	يَقْتَام <i>yaqtāmu</i>	imperat.	اقتّم <i>(‘i) qtam</i>

Note 1. The distribution of vowels in the imperfect base conforms to that of the corresponding stems of II-geminate verbs (§233.3).

Note 2. See §49 b concerning اسطاع (i) *stā'a* يسطيع (*yastī'u*) 'be in a position to' in addition to اسطاع (i) *statā'a* and اسطال (i) *stāla* يسطيل (*yastīlu*) 'become long' in addition to اسطال (i) *statāla*.

b) In verbal stems II, III, V, VI, and IX, *w* and *y* behave like consonants: قَوْمٌ *qawwama* 'set right', صَيْرَ *sayyara* 'become (red)', يَقُومُ *yuqawwimu* 'set right', يَعْصِي *yuṣayyiru* 'induce' (II); قَادِمٌ *qāwama* 'resist', لَا يَنْ *lā yāwim* 'resist' (III), etc.; اسْوَدٌ *i.swadda* 'black', يَلْأَيُ *yulāyinu* 'treat with kindness' (III), etc.; اسْوَدٌ *i.yaswaddu* 'become black', أَيْضَ *i.yabyaddu* 'become white' (IX). The inflection corresponds to that of three-radical "strong" verbs.

Note 3. Formations with consonantal *w* or *y* also exist in other verbal stems. They are regularly denominal in origin: عوج *awija* (عوج *ya'waju*) 'be crooked' (I), أحوج *ahwaja* (جوج *yu'hiju*) 'require' (IV), استصوب *astašwaba* (يتصوب *yastašwibū*) 'approve of' (X). Cf. §68.1.

§246. By analogy with *fuila* : *yufalu*, the passive of long vowel stems has *i/i* in the perfect base and *ā/a* in the imperfect base: قيم *qīma* (يقيم *yuqāmu*), نيم *nīma* (ينام *yunāmu*), صير *śīra* (يصال *yusāru*), jussive *yuqam*, etc. The prefixed morphemes in the perfect are taken from the *u* of *fuila*: أقيم *uqīma* (يقيم *yuqāmu*) IV, انقاد *nqīda* (ينداد *yunqādu*) VII, استقيم *stuqīma* (يسقاوم *yustaqāmu*) X.

Note 1. Verbal stems II, III, V, VI form the passive as three-radical morpheme categories (§§210; 219): تقوم *quuwima*, قوم *qīwima* (§28.2), تقوّم *tuquuwima*, قوم *tuqīwima*.

Note 2. Instead of (*'u*)*nqīda*, (*'u*)*qtīda* with auxiliary vowel *u* in verbal stems VII and VIII, the auxiliary vowel can be *i*: (*'i*)*nqīda*, (*'i*)*qtīda*.

Note 3. In poetry, non-classical perfect forms with *ū/u* instead of *i/i* occasionally occur: قول *qūla*, 'was said', أحبور *'u)khtūra* 'was chosen' (VIII of root kh-y-r).

§247. a) The active participle (§223) has the morpheme sequence *ā-i*, with *ā* in between, in place of the stem vowel: قائم *qā'imun*, نائم *nā'imun*, حائر *hā'irun*, صائر *sā'irun*. In the passive participle, which has *ma-* (§223) prefixed to the stem, the stem vowel varies — it is *ū* in II-*w* verbs and *i* in II-*y* verbs: مغوف *maqūdun* from قاد *qāda* (يقود *yaqūdu*) 'lead', خاف *makhūfun* from خاف *khāfa* (يُخاف *yakhāfu*) 'fear', مبيع *mabī'un* from باع *bā'a* (يبيع *yabī'u*) 'sell'.

Note 1. In I- and III-*v* verbs, the *ā-i* sequence in the active participle is dissimilated (§41): آب *āybun* from يُؤوب *yarūbu* 'return', جاء *jā'in* (< *jā'iyun < *jā'i'un) from جاء *jā'a* (يجيء *yajī'u*) 'come'.

Note 2. In II-*y* verbs, the passive participle *mafūlun* appears occasionally with consonantal *y*: مبيوع *mabyū'un* 'sold'.

b) In the derived stems, participles are formed according to §224 from the imperfect base: مَقْوَمٌ *muqawwimun*, مَقْوَمَةٌ *muqawwamun* (II), مَقِيمٌ *muqīmun*, مَقَامٌ *muqāmun* (IV), مَنْقَامٌ *munqāmun* (VII, active and passive!), etc.

§248. a) Radical *w* and *y* appear in verbal substantives *fa'lun*, *fa'latun*: قُودٌ *qawdun*, نُومٌ *nawmūn*, خُوفٌ *khawfūn*, حِيَةٌ *hayratun*, صَيْرٌ *ṣayrun*.

Note 1. *faylūlatun* is a morpheme category that occurs only in II-weak roots as a verbal substantive of the basic stem: دَعْمَوَةٌ *daymūmatun* from دَامٌ *dāma* 'last', بَانٌ *yadūmu* 'last', بَيْنَتَهُ *baynūnatun* from بَانٌ *bāna* (يَدُونَةً *yabīnu*) 'part, separate'.

b) Verbal substantive *fi'ālun* of II-*w* roots also has *y* as the second radical (§33 a): قِيَامٌ *qiyyāmun*, نِيَامٌ *niyāmun*. By analogy, verbal substantives of stems VII and VIII follow the same pattern: اِنْقِيَامٌ *(i)nqiyāmun*, اِقْيَامٌ *(i)qtiyāmun*. In verb stems IV and X, the morpheme pattern *i-ā* is distributed over prefix and stem, to which, in addition, the feminine ending *-atun* is attached: إِقْمَاتٌ *(i)iqāmatun*, إِسْقَامَةٌ *(i)stiqāmatun*.

Note 2. Rarely occurring are verbal substantives of stems IV and X lacking *-atun*: إِقْمَامٌ *(i)iqāmun*, اِسْقَامَةٌ *(i)stiqāmun*.

Note 3. Verbal substantives formed with prefixed *ma-* (§230) have the stem vowel *ā*, or frequently with II-*y* roots, *ī*: مَلَامَةٌ *malāmun*, مَلَامَاتٌ *malāmatun* from لَامٌ *lāmu* 'blame', مَعَاشٌ *ma'ashun*, مَعِيشٌ *ma'išun*, مَعِيشَةٌ *ma'išhatun* from عَاشٌ *asha* 'blow' (يعيش *ya'išhu*) 'live'.

c) Verb stems with consonantal *w* or *y* form verbal substantives according to the three-radical morpheme category: تَقْوِيمٌ *taqwīmun*, تَصْبِيرٌ *tasyīrūn* (II), اِسْوَادَادٌ *(i)swidādun*, قَوَامٌ *qiwāmun* (III), تَقْوَمَةٌ *taqawwumun* (V), مَهْرَاقٌ *muhrāqun*, اِيْضَاضَةٌ *(i)byidāḍun* (IX).

Note 4. Note the distinction: *qiyyāmun* = *fi'ālun* from the basic stem and *qiwāmun* = *fi'ālun* from verb stem III.

§249. هَرَاقٌ *harāqa* 'pour, shed' (§178 b) is inflected in the following manner: Perf. 1st sing. هَرَقْتَ *haraqtu*, pass. هَرِيقٌ *huriqa*, هَرِيقْتُ *huriqtu*; imperf. يَهْرِيقُ *yuhariqū*, يَهْرِيقَتُ *yuhriqū*, juss. يَهْرَاقٌ *yuhriqū*, pass. يَهْرَاقْتُ *yuharāqu*, يَهْرَاقَتُ *yuharāqun*; active part. مَهْرَاقٌ *muhrāqun*, مَهْرِيقٌ *muhrīqun*, pass. مَهْرَاقَتُ *muharāqun*,

muhrāqun; verbal substantive هرّاق *hirāqatun*, إِهْرَاق *ihrāqatun*. Derived from the latter form are the secondary perfect forms: أهْرَاق *ahrāqa*, pass. أهْرِيق *ahrīqa*.

III-Weak Verbs (*Verba tertiae infirmae*)

§250. III-*w* and -*y* verbs have a long vowel in place of the third radical. The six classes of vowel combinations of the basic stem correspond to those of the three-radical verb (§216):

1. *fa'ala* — *yaf'ulu*: دعا *da'ā* — يدعُو *yad'u* 'call' (§10) III-*w*
2. *fa'ala* — *yaf'ilu*: رمى *ramā* — يرمي *yarmī* 'throw' III-*y*
3. *fa'ala* — *yaf'alū*: سعى *sa'ā* — يسعى *yasā* 'run' III-*y*
4. *fa'ilā* — *yaf'alū*: لقى *laqīya* — يلقى *yalqā* 'meet' III-*y*
5. *fa'ula* — *yaf'ulu*: سرو *saruwa* — يسرُو *yasrū* 'be noble' III-*w*
6. *fa'ilā* — *yaf'ilu*: ولی *waliya* — يلِي *yalī* 'be near' (§240 b) III-*y*

§251. The derived verb stems, except for stems V and VI, which belong to the third class, belong to the second class: غنى *ghannā* (يغنى) *yughannī* 'sing' (II), أهدى *ahdā* (يهدى) *yuhdī* 'give' (IV), تلاقى *talaqqā* (يتلقي) *talāqā* 'receive' (V), يتلاقي *yatalaqqā* (يتألقي) *yatalāqā* 'get together' (VI), احْمَلَ *njalā* (ينجلي) *yanjalī* 'reveal oneself' (VII), استولى *stawlā* (يتستولي) *stawlaqā* 'meet' (VIII), التقى *ltaqā* (يتتقى) *ytalāqā* 'take possession of' (X), احْلَوَ *yhawlā* (يمحلولي) *yahlawlī* 'be sweet' (XII).

Note 1. There are no verb stems IX or XI. Instead, there are occasional alternative formations (§178 a): ارعوي *yar'awī* (راعوي) *r'awā* 'watch'.

Note 2. Verb stem XV (i)f *anlā* (*yaf'anli*) is inflected according the second class (§173).

Note 3. Four-radical verb stems of IV-weak verbs correspond to three-radical derived stems: سلقى *salqā* (يسلقى) *yusalqī* (§162.3) 'overturn' (I), تسلقى *tasalqā* (يتسلقى) *yatasalqā* 'fall onto the back' (II), سلنقى *slanqā* (يسلنقي) *yaslanqī* 'fall onto the back' (III).

§252. The vocalic stem ending undergoes complex variation (cf. §§34; 35 a) as a result of the addition of inflectional suffixes:

a) *u* and *i* merge into the stem vowel, while *a* merges only into *-ā*, but not into *-ū* and *-ī*: subjunctive يرمي *yarmiya*, but يلقى *yalqā*. 3rd pers. fem. sing. *-āt must be shortened: دعت *ramat*, دعات *da'at*, but لقيت *laqiyat*, سروت *saruwat*; by analogy, 3rd dual fem. متا *ramatā*, دعتا *da'atā*, لقيتا *laqiyatā*, سروتا *saruwatā*.

b) Before consonantal suffixes and before *-ā* (-āni), the stem ending is treated consonantly: *ī* = *iy*, *ū* = *uw*, *ā* becomes *ay* or *aw*, depending on whether the root is III-*y* or III-*w*: perf. رميت *ramayta*, -*ti*, -*tu*, etc., دعونا *da'awna*, دعون *da'awna*; لقيت *laqīta* (= *laqiyta*), سروت *sarūta* (= *saruwta*); imperf. fem. pl. يرمين *yarmīna* (= *yarmiy-na*), يدعون *yadūna* (= *yad'u-w-na*), يلقين *yalqayna*; dual دعوا *da'awā*, لقيا *laqiyā*, سروا *sarū*, يرميان *yarmiyāni*, يدعوان *yadūwāni*, يلقيان *yalqayāni*.

c) *-ū*, *-ī*, *-ūna*, *-īna* undergo the following contractions when vocalic suffixes are added: *ā* - *ū* > *aw*, *ā* - *ī* > *ay*: perf. دعوا *da'aw*, imperf. يلقون *yalqawna*, تلقين *talqayna*. In the following contractions *ī* - *ī* > *ī*, *ū* - *ū* > *ū* and *ī* - *ū* > *ū*, *ū* - *ī* > *ī*, the suffix vowel prevails: perf. لقوا *laqū*, سروا *sarū*; imperf. يسرعون *yarmūna*, يسرعون *yasrūna*; تدعين *tadīna*, تسرعن *tasrīna*.

§253. a) The subjunctive ending *-a* is added to the imperfect base: يرمي *yarmiya*, يدعون *yalqā* (§252 a). The supplementary suffixes lose *-na*, *-ni*: يدعوا *yarmū*, ترمي *tarmī*, يرميا *yarmiyā*; يدعون *yadū*, يدعونا *yarmīna*, يدعون *yadūna*, يدعون *yalqayna* (like the imperf.).

b) The jussive's lack of endings is represented in III-weak verbs by a shortening of the stem vowel: يرم *yarmi*, يدع *yad'u*, يلق *yalqa*, يسر *yasru*, يغحن *yughanni* (II), يتلق *yatalaqqa* (V). Forms with supplementary suffixes are identical to those of the subjunctive.

c) The imperative has the endings of the 2nd person jussive: ارم *ارم* (i) *rmi*, fem. ارمي *ارمي* (i) *rmī*, pl. ارمين *ارمين* (i) *rmīna*; ادع *ادع* (i) *dū*, fem. ادعوا *ادعوا* (i) *dūna*; الق *الق* (i) *dū*, fem. ادعون *ادعون* (i) *dūna*; القى *القى* (i) *lqay*, fem. القين *القين* (i) *lqayna*; غنى *غنى* *ghanni*, etc. (II), *talaqqa*, fem. تلقى *talaqqay*, etc. (V).

§254. The energetic forms (§215) are: يرمين *yarmiyan*(*na*), 2nd fem. ترمي *tarminna*, pl. يرميان *yarmunna*, fem. يرمي *yarmīnni*; يدعونان *yad'wan*(*na*), 2nd fem. تدعن *tad'inna*, pl. يدعن *yad'unna*, fem. يدعونان *yad'ūnni*; يلقين *yalqayan*(*na*), 2nd fem. تلقين *talqayinna*, pl. يلقون *yalqawunna*, fem. يلقينان *yalqaynānni*.

§255. The passive is formed according to morpheme category *fūila*: *yufalu*: دعي *dūya* (i) *yudā* دع *dū* (i) *rumiya* رمي *yurmā*, stem III *luqiya* لقي *yulqā*; stem IV *luqīya* لوق *yulāqā*, stem IV *uhdiya* أهدي *yuhdā*, etc. The inflection follows the pattern of the fourth vowel class (§250).

Note 1. In poetry, there are also forms in the category *fūla* (§210.1): رمي *rumā*, fem. رمت *rumat*; رمت *rummā*, fem. رمت *rummat* (II).

§256. The phonological rules in §252 hold for nominal stems ending in *-ī*, *-ā*. When the sign of indefiniteness *-n* is added, the final long vowel of the stem must be shortened. Cf. §§154 f. on the inflection.

a) *rāmī*, *dārī*, *lāqī* correspond to the active participle category *fā'il-*: داعي *rāmin*, fem. داعية *rāmiyatun*, داع *dā'in*, fem. داعي *dā'iyatun*, لاق *lāqin*, fem. لاقية *lāqiyatun*.

b) The passive participle *mafūlun* is formed with consonantal *w* or *y*: مدع *madīwun*, مرمي *marmīyun* (< **marmūyun* §33 b).

Note 1. On occasion, *mafūlun* of III-*w* roots is formed with *y*: مدع *madīyun* instead of *madīwun*.

c) All derived verb stems have stem-final *-ī* in the active participle and *-ā* in the passive participle: مغن *mughannin*, fem. مغنية *mughanniyatun* 'singing', *mughannan*, fem. مغناة *mughannātun* 'sung' (II); مهد *muhdin* 'giving', *muhdan* 'given' (IV), etc.

§257. The rules followed in the formation of III-weak roots (§69) hold for verbal substantives.

a) In morpheme categories *fa'lun*, *fi'lānun*, and the like, consonantal *w* or *y* appears: دعوة رمي *ramyun*, نسيان *nisyānun* from نسي *nasiya* 'forget'. For *fū'lun* and *fi'lun*, usually *fi'alun*, *fū'alun* occur with a vocalic stem-ending: رضي *riḍan* from رضي *rāḍiyya* 'be satisfied', هدى *hudā* from هدى *hadā* 'lead on the right way'. In the same way, morpheme category *fa'alatun* occurs in place of *fa'latun*: نجاة نجا *najātun* from نجا *najā* ينجو *yanjū* 'escape' (§60.3).

Note 1. *fū'ulun* is formed with radical *w* or *y*: صفو *sufūwun* from صاف *safā* 'be pure', هوی *huwīyun* (< *huwūyun §33 b) from يصفو *yasfū* 'pure', هوی *hawā* يهوي *yahwī* 'fall'.

b) Morpheme categories with *-ā* in the second syllable, *fa'ālun*, *fi'ālun*, etc., have *'* before the inflectional ending (§69 b): بقاء *baqā'un* from بقي *yabqā* 'remain'. The forms of verbal substantives of the derived stems correspond: لقاء *liqā'un* (III), إهداء *ihdā'un* (IV), انجلاء *anjlā'un* (VII), استيلاء *astilā'un* (VIII), التقاء *iltiqā'un* (X), etc. According to §33 b, verb stems V and VI have تلق *talaqqin* (*talaqqī-* < **talaqquy*), ترام *tarāmin*.

Note 2. The verbal substantive of stem II is formed like *tafilatun* rather than *tafilun*: تعنية *taghniyatun*.

Note 3. Verbal substantives formed with the prefix *ma-* occur as *maf'alun*, *maf'alatun*, *maf'ilatun*: منجي *manjan*, منجاة *manjātun* from *najā* 'escape', معصية *masiyatun* from عصي *asā* يعصي *yaṣī* 'disobey'.

III-Weak—II-Weak Verbs (*Verba tertiae et mediae infirmae*)

§258. a) *w* in II-*w*—III-weak verbs is always treated consonantly: روی *rawā* يروي *yarwī* 'give to drink, water', روی *rawiya* يروي *yarwā* 'drink one's fill'. In verbal substantives in the category *fa'lun*, **wy* becomes *yy* (§33 c): ری *rayyun*.

b) II-*y*-III-weak verbs in the basic stem can be treated either as III-weak or as II-geminate verbs: حي *hayya* (يحيى) *yahyā* or حي *hayya* (يحيى) *yahayyu* 'live', عي *ayya* (يعي) *ya'yā* or عي *ayya* (يعي) *ya'ayyu* 'incapable'. In the derived stems, all forms are constructed like III-weak verbs: stem IV أحياء *ahyā* (يحيى) *yuhyī*, 'lend life', أعي *ayyā* (يعي) *yu'yī* 'incapacitate'.

Note 1. Stem II حي *hayyā* (يحيى) *yuhayyī* 'greet' forms its verbal substantive like a II-geminate verb (§236): تحية *tahiyatun*.

Note 2. In addition to استحیا *i(sta)hyā* (يستحب) *yastahyī* 'be ashamed' (X), a shortened form occurs: استحا *i(sta)hā* (يستحب) *yastahī*.

Emphatic Qualification

§259. The words نعم *nima* 'What a wonderful...', بئس *bisa* 'What an evil...', as well as several words in the morpheme category *fala*, *fula* (*fa'ula*) (§262) are used for emphatic qualification. That which is qualified always follows in the nominative and is determined by the article, although the entire phrase is considered indefinite: نعم الرجل *nima 'r-rajulu* 'What a wonderful man!', 'a wonderful man to be sure!', بئس النساء *bisa 'n-nisā'u* 'What evil women!', 'bad women for sure!'.

Note 1. Occasionally, feminine بئست *ni'mat*, بئست *bisat* are formed and come before feminine terms: نعمت المرأة *ni'mat-i 'l-maratu* 'What a perfect woman', in addition to normal نعم المرأة *ni'ma 'l-maratu*.

§260. The invariable formula *ni'ma* (*bisa*) with following article and substantive in the nominative may occupy different places within the phrase: لبئس الرجال أنتما *la-bisa 'r-rajulāni 'antumā* 'What evil men are you two', نعم الفتى كنت *ni'ma 'l-fatā kunta* 'What a perfect lad you were', أليس بيئس القاتل *a-laysa bi-bisa 'z-zālimu* 'Is he not indeed an evil doer?'.

Note 1. Note the formula فهـا ونعمت *fa-bihā wa-ni'mat* '(If you do it) in that case, it's all right!' used as the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

§261. a) The nominative coming after *ni'ma* (*bisa*) may be replaced by a clause introduced by ما *mā* (§289), in which case *ni'ma* (*bisa*) with relative *mā* (§421) means 'something very wonderful (evil) indeed':

نَعَمْ مَا أُمِرْتُ بِهِ *ni·ma mā ·amarta bihi* ‘You have issued a wonderful order indeed’, بَئْسْ مَا صَنَعْتَ *bīsa mā ṣanāta* ‘What an evil thing you have created’. The action is qualified with subordinating *mā* (§416): بَئْسْ مَا سَافَرْتُ *bīsa mā sāfartum* ‘You have traveled very badly’.

Note 1. نَعَمْ *ni·immā* occurs as a variant of *ni·ma-mā*.

b) Sometimes, an indefinite in the accusative (§384) occurs in place of the definite nominative: بَئْسْ لِلظَّالِمِينَ بَدْلًا *bīsa līz-zālimīna badalan* ‘How evil is that exchange for the evildoers!’ (Koran 18:50).

§262. Other words that are used on occasion to qualify emphatically are, for example: كَبِيرٌ *jalla*, شَدَّادٌ *shadda*, عَزِيزٌ *azza*, هَادِي *hadda* ‘how mighty, great’, كَبُورٌ *kabura*, سَاءٌ *sā'a* ‘how evil, bad’, حَسَنٌ *hasuna*, حُسْنٌ *husna*, حَسْنَةٌ *hasna* ‘how beautiful, magnificent’, عَظِيمٌ *azuma*, عَظِيمٌ *uzma*, عَظِيمٌ *ażma* ‘how powerful, mighty’. They are used much like *ni·ma*, *bīsa*: جَلَ الخطَبُ فَقَدَاهُ *jalla 'l-khatbu fiqdānuhu* ‘How great a mishap is his loss!’, لَشَدَّمَا أَحَبَبْتَهَا *la-shadda-mā 'ahbabtahā* ‘How much do you love her!’, كَبَرَتْ كَلْمَةٌ تَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ *kaburat kalimatan takhruju min 'afwāhihim* ‘How nasty a word comes from their mouths!’ (Koran 18:5).

Note 1. Used more as particles are: قَلَّا مَا *qalla-mā* ‘very rarely’, قَلَّا يَكُونُ بِالدَّبُورِ الْمَطْرُ طَالِلًا مَا *tāla-mā* ‘how often, very often’: قَلَّا يَكُونُ بِالدَّبُورِ الْمَطْرُ طَالِلًا مَا *qalla-mā yakūnu bi-'d-dabūri 'l-maṭaru* ‘How infrequently does the rain come with the westerly wind’, طَالِلًا قَدْ سَأَلْتَنِي *tāla-mā qad saaltanī* ‘How often have you asked me’.

Note 2. Other particles of emphatic qualification include: شَتَّانْ *shattā-na* ‘how unlike’, سَرْعَانْ *surāna*, سَرِيعَانْ *sirāna* ‘how swift’: شَتَّانْ الْعَامِعِ وَالْيَائِسِ *shattāna* 't-tāmi'u wa- 'l-yāsi'u ‘How different are those who still have hope from those who have given up hope!’, سَرْعَانْ مَا نَسِيْتُ *surāna mā nasītum* ‘How quickly have you forgotten!‘.

§263. The emphatic qualification حَبْ *habba* (*hubba*) ‘how loveable’ is almost always combined with ذَى *dhā* (§274.2), in which case *dhā* is in the position of the definite nominative and can be accompanied by an indefinite accusative or *min* (§299): حَبَّذَا أَنْتَ *habba-dhā 'anta* ‘How lovely are you!’, حَبَّذَا الْفَوَارِسَ *habba-dhā 'l-fawārisu* ‘How wonderful are the knights!‘,

حَبْذَا الْبَصْرَةَ أَرْضًا (من أَرْض) *habba-dhā 'l-Baṣratu 'arḍan* (or *min 'arḍin*)
 'What a lovely spot of earth is Basra!'.
habba يَا *yā* (§347) precedes *habba-dhā*.

Note 2. *habba*, *hubba* without *-dhā* occurs in combination with *bi-* (§294 d) as predicate: يَا حَبَّ بِالْمَنْزِلِ *yā habba bi-'l-manzili* 'How lovely is the dwelling!', حَبَّ بِهِ رَجُلٌ *habba bihi rajulan* 'What a lovely man is he!'.
 'What a lovely spot of earth is Basra!'.
habba يَا *yā* (§347) precedes *habba-dhā*.

Pronouns and Particles

Personal Pronouns

§264. Independent personal pronouns:

Sing.	1st pers.	أَنَا <i>'anā</i>	dual	—	pl.	نَحْنُ <i>naḥnu</i>
	2nd m.	أَنْتَ <i>'anta</i>		أَنْتَمَا <i>'antumā</i>		أَنْتُمْ <i>'antum</i>
	2nd f.	أَنْتِي <i>'anti</i>		أَنْتَمَا <i>'antumā</i>		أَنْتُنَّ <i>'antunna</i>
	3rd m.	هُوَ <i>huwa</i>		هُمَا <i>humā</i>		هُمْ <i>hum</i>
	3rd f.	هِيَ <i>hiya</i>		هُمَا <i>humā</i>		هُنَّ <i>hunna</i>

Note 1. أَنَا *'anā* 'I' in poetry is usually *'ana* (§7.6).

Note 2. Pronouns ending in *-um* may in poetry end in *-umū* (§7.5).

Note 3. After *wa-* and *fa-* (§§328 f.), *huwa*, *hiya* may be shortened to **وهو** *wa-hwa*, **وهي** *wa-hya*, **فهو** *fa-hwa*, **وهي** *fa-hya*.

Note 4. On occasion in poetry, the non-classical forms **هو** *hū*, **هي** *hī* may occur in addition to *huwa*, *hiya*.

§265. The independent personal pronoun as a rule functions as a nominative. See §§266.1; 267 for exceptions. It can be the subject and predicate of a nominal sentence (§§360 ff.) and precede the definite nominal predicate (§363 b.).

Note 1. إِنْ *'inna* (§339) with a personal suffix may occur instead of the independent personal pronoun as the subject.

Note 2. The independent personal pronoun or the personal suffix (§455) may come after **لـ** *law-lā*.

§266. Since the verb incorporates the pronominal subject (§§207; 211), the personal pronoun is used in the verbal sentence to emphasize the subject: **كان هو السارق** *kāna huwa 's-sāriqa* ‘He was the thief’. It usually also appears when the word order subject-predicate is required (§§368 ff.), e.g.: **مرر بي وأنا نظر إليه** *marra bī wa-anā ḥanzuru ẓilayhi* ‘He went by me as I watched him’.

Note 1. On occasion, the personal pronoun is also used to emphasize a personal suffix (§268): **أبي بيتى** *baytī 'anā* ‘my house’.

§267. The personal pronoun is used to coordinate more than one subject with one verbal predicate: **أتينا أنا والحكم** *ataynā 'anā wa-'l-Hakam* ‘We, al-Hakam and I, came’. In the same way, different pronominal objects can be coordinated with one verb: **بعثني أنا وأنت** *ba'aththānī 'anā wa-'anta* ‘He sent you and me’. Cf. §328 b.

§268. The dependent personal suffixes can be attached to substantives, prepositions (§292), verbs, and particles:

Sing.	1st pers.	-ي -i, -ya	dual		pl.	ن -nā
		ني -ni				
2nd m.	ك -ka		كما -kumā		ك -kum	
2nd f.	ك -ki		كما -kumā		كن -kunna	
3rd m.	ه -hu, -hū		هما -humā		هم -hum	
	ه -hi, -hī		هما -himā		هم -him	
3rd f.	ها -hā		هما -hu/imā		هن -hu/inna	

Note 1. In the 1st person sing., *-i*, *-ya* is suffixed to substantives and prepositions, and *ni* is suffixed to verbs and particles. The form *-ya* comes after *ā*, *i*, *ū*, *ay*, *aw* (§269 c).

Note 2. The suffix of the 1st sing. is *-iya*, *-niya* (§54 a) when it precedes the article (*ا*) *l-* (§142). In classical Arabic, however, *-i*, *-ni* are also permitted. In poetry, *-iya*, *-niya* often occur in place of *-i*, *-ni* to fit the metre.

Note 3. The suffix of the 3rd masc. sing. is short (*-hu*, *-hi*) when it comes after a closed syllable, but long (*-hū*, *-hī*) after an open syllable. See §7.3.

Note 4. Plural suffixes that end in *-um* may become *-umū*, *-imū* in poetry: **كم kumū**, **هم humū**, **هم himū** (§7.5). Cf. also §54 a.

Note 5. When additional suffixes (§271) are attached, *-kum*, *-hum* become **كمو -kumū**, **همو -humū** (*-himū*). **كـ -kā**, **كـي -kī** also occur in post-classical Arabic in the 2nd sing. in this situation.

§269. a) The personal suffixes are added to the construct state of nouns (§145), and in this construction function as genitives: **كتابك kitābu-ka**, **كتابـي kitābi-ka**, **كتـابـكـا kitāba-ka** 'your book' (nom., gen., acc.), **أبـوكـما abū-kumā**, **أبـوكـما abū-kumā**, **أبـاكـما abā-kumā** 'your [du.] father' (nom., gen., acc.), **داعـيكـ dā'i-kum** 'your caller', **قـنـانـا qanā-nā** 'our spears', **سـارـقـهـا sāriqū-hā**, **سـارـقـهـا sāriqi-hā** 'her thieves' (nom., obl.), etc.

Note 1. The personal suffixes may function as accusatives when affixed to verbal substantives or participles. Cf. §271.1. See §386.2 concerning the use of personal suffixes with terms expressing time.

b) After *i*, *ī*, *ay*, the 3rd person suffixes are *-hi* (-*hi*), *-himā*, *-him*, *-hinna*: **سارـقـهـا sāriqi-hī** 'his thief' (gen.), **سـارـقـيـهـا sāriqay-hi** 'both his thieves' (obl.), **سـارـقـيـهـا sāriqī-hi** 'his thieves' (obl.), as contrasted to nominative *sāri-* *qu-hū*, *sāriqā-hu*, *sāriqu-hu*

Note 2. In the dialect of Hijāz, *-hu* (-*hū*), *-humā*, *-hum*, *-hunna* remained unchanged after *i*, *ī*, *ay*: **في كتابـي fi kitābi-hū** 'in his book'.

c) The case suffixes *-u*, *-i*, *-a* disappear before the 1st sing. suffix *-i*: **كتـابـي kitābi** 'my book', **عـمـاتـي ammatī** 'my aunt', **عـمـاتـي ammātī** 'my aunts'. After *ā*, *ī*, *u*, *ay*, *aw*, the suffix is *-ya*, in which case the sequence *ā* - *y* becomes *ī* - *y*, and *aw* - *y* becomes *ay* - *y* (§33): **سـارـقـيـهـا sāriqī-ya** 'my thieves' (nom., obl.), **عـمـاتـي ammatā-ya** (nom.), **عـمـاتـي ammatay-ya** (obl.) 'my two aunts'.

Note 3. See §157.3 on the shortening of *-ī* > *-i* in the vocative.

Note 4. When the 1st sing. suffix is added to the substantives listed in §150, they are: **أـيـ abī** 'my father', **أـخـي akhī** 'my brother', **حـمـي hamī** 'my uncle', and **فـي fiyya** 'my mouth'.

§270. In combination with verbs, the personal suffixes function as objects. The suffix of the 1st sing. is always *-nī*, *-niya*. Only the 2nd pl. of the perfect (§207) undergoes variation due to the addition of the personal suffix:

ضربتم darabtum ‘You struck’ : ضربتوني darabtumū-nī ‘You struck me’. The suffix of the 3rd person after *i*, *ī*, *ay* becomes: -*hi* (-*hī*), -*himā*, -*him*, -*hinna*: يرمي yarmī-*hi* ‘He throws him’, but ماه ramā-*hu* ‘He threw him’.

Note 1. The *I* that is written after the plural ending (§7.2) is dropped before the suffix: كتبوا katabū : كتبوها katabū-hā.

Note 2. The -*ti* of the 2nd fem. sing. of the perfect may be -*tī* before suffixes in post-classical Arabic: ضربتني darabtī-nī for ضربتي darabti-nī.

Note 3. The imperfect endings -*īna*, -*ūna*, -*āni* may be shortened before -*nī*, -*nā* (§50 c). As a result, the imperfect forms are the same as the jussive and subjunctive: تضربيني tadrībīnī and تضربنا yadrībūnā ‘You (fem.) hit me’, يضربوننا yadrībūnā-nā ‘They hit us’, etc.

§271. There may be two personal suffixes added to the verb. In this case, the 1st person precedes the 2nd and the 3rd, and the 2nd person precedes the 3rd: أعطياني aṭā-nī-*hi* ‘He gave it to me’, أعطيتك aṭāytu-*ka-hū* ‘I gave it to you’, أعطيناكموها aṭaynā-kumū-hā ‘We gave her to you’ (§268.5).

Note 1. If two personal suffixes are attached to a verbal substantive, the first functions as the subject, the second as the object: ذكرها dhikru-*ka-hā* ‘your remembering her’, طلبك talab-*i-kum* ‘my searching for you’.

Pronominal Object Particle

§272. Instead of the second personal suffix, إياك iyyā with personal suffixes is used, if directly adding the suffix is impossible or is better avoided: إياتي iyyā-*ya* ‘me’, إياتك iyyā-*ka*, -*ki* ‘you’, إياته iyyā-*hu*, him, etc. أطعها إياتي aṭāhā iyyāya ‘He gave me to her’ as opposed to أطعانيها aṭānīhā ‘He gave her to me’.

Note 1. iyyā is also used to place the pronominal object first: إياتك نعبد و إياتك نستعن iyyāka na'budu wa-iyyāka nastarīnu (Koran 1:5) ‘You alone do we worship, and You alone we ask for help’.

Note 2. Independent إياتك iyyāka, -*ki*, إياتكم iyyākum, إياتكن iyyā-kunna, mostly with *wa-* (§328.3) or *an* (§414) following, has the meaning ‘beware...!', ‘take care not to...!」.

Reflexive

§273. The reflexive relationship to the object is expressed by **نفس nafsun** ‘soul, self’ (§111 d) with the addition of corresponding personal suffixes: **رأيْت نفسَيْ raaytu nafsi** ‘I saw myself’, **قال ل نفسهِ qāla li-nafsihi** ‘He said to himself’. In the other reflexive relationships, the simple personal suffixes are usually used: **كُنْت فِي بَيْتِي kuntu fi bayti** ‘I was in my house’.

Demonstratives

§274. Demonstratives that indicate direct deixis ('this'):

Sing. m.	هذا hādhā	dual	هذان hādhāni	pl.	هؤلاء hārulāri
f.	هذه hādhihī		هتان hātāni		هؤلاء hārulāri

Sing. and pl. demonstratives are not inflected. The dual has the nominal inflection: Obl. هذين hādhayni, fem. هتين hātayni.

Note 1. In the singular, *hādhihī* has almost completely replaced the original form **هذى hādhī**. See §§7.4; 7.7; 8 on the orthography.

Note 2. Forms without *hā-* occur very rarely in classical Arabic: sing. masc. **ذا dhā**; fem. **تِي tī**, **هِذِي dhī**, **هِتِي tī**; dual masc. **هَذَانِ dhāni**, **هَذَيْنِ dhayni** (obl.), fem. **هَتَانِ tāni**, **هَتَيْنِ tayni** (obl.); pl. **أَوْلَاءِ ulāri**.

§275. Demonstratives that indicate indirect deixis ('that'):

a) Formed with *-ka*:

Sing. m.	ذَاكَ dhāka	dual	ذَاكَنَكَ dhānīka	أَوْلَاكَ ulāka / (obl.)	أَوْلَاكَ ulārika
f.	تَاكَ tāka		تَاكَنَكَ tānīka	أَوْلَاكَ ulāka / (obl.)	أَوْلَاكَ ulārika
	تِيكَ tīka		تِينَكَ taynīka	أَوْلَاكَ ulāka / (obl.)	أَوْلَاكَ ulārika

b) Formed with *-likā*:

Sing. m.	ذَلِكَ dhālīka	dual	ذَلِكَنَكَ dhānnīka	أَوْلَالِكَ ulālīka	
			(obl.) ذِينَكَ dhaynnīka	أَوْلَالِكَ ulālīka	
f.	تَلِكَ tilka		تَلِكَنَكَ tānnīka	أَوْلَالِكَ ulālīka	
			(obl.) تِينَكَ taynnīka	أَوْلَالِكَ ulālīka	

Note 1. In the singular, forms with *-lika* are preferred. On occasion, forms with *-hā* occur: sing. masc. هذاك *hādhāka*, fem. هذيك *hādhīka*, pl. هؤلاك *hārulāka*, هؤلاءك *hārulā'ika*.

Note 2. Sometimes in pre-classical Arabic, other forms of the personal suffix of the 2nd person occur instead of *-ka*: ذاك *dhāki*, ذاك *dhākum*, ذلك *dhālikum*, ذلك *dhālikunna*, تلكم *tilkum*, تلکما *tilkumā*, etc. Reference to the particular person, however, no longer holds. Cf. §278.1.

§276. a) Direct deixis refers in time and space to something present: يا هنا *yā hādhā* ‘oh, this one here!’, i.e., ‘hey, you there!’, أهذا أم هنا *a-hādhā am hādhā* ‘this one here or this one here?'; referring to context دع ذا *da' dhā* ‘leave this!’. Sometimes, هذا *hādhā* anticipates the context that follows: هذا ما اشتري فلان *hādhā mā 'shtarā fulānun* ‘This (that follows) is what so-and-so bought’.

b) Indirect deixis refers in time and space to something at a distance: ذلك *yawma dhālika* (*dhāka*) ‘on the day of that (event), then’. dhālika is the demonstrative that most frequently refers back to context.

Note 1. In some usages, demonstratives refer to preceding contexts in a comprehensive way: ... هذا و ... *hādhā wa ...* ‘besides, moreover, on the other hand’; ذلك أن ... *dhālika 'anna ...* ‘that is (to say), namely, to wit ...’.

§277. Demonstratives come before definite substantives with articles (§142): هذا الكتاب *hādhā 'l-kitābu* ‘this book’. Otherwise, demonstratives come after substantives: أصحاب الحديث *kutubī hādhīhī* ‘these my books’, أو لائق *ashābū 'l-hadīthī ulā'i* ‘those followers of Hadith’. Demonstratives agree with respect to gender in the same way that attributive adjectives do (§§113 f.).

Note 1. When used with proper names which have the article, demonstratives may precede: هذا الحكم *hādhā 'l-Hakamu* or الحكم هذا *(a)l-Hakamu* *hādhā* ‘this al-Hakam’, but always محمد هذا *Muhammadun hādhā* ‘this Muhammad’, and so forth.

§278. When they introduce clauses, direct deixis demonstratives call attention to the presence of the predicate ('here is/are'): هؤلاء بناتي *hārulā'i banātī* ‘Here are my daughters!’ The predicate may be expanded with a circum-

stantial accusative (§§380 ff.) or clause (§§431 ff.): *hādhā rasūlu 'l-lāhi qad dakhala* ‘Now the Messenger of God has come in’. This usage is restricted primarily to pre-classical Arabic.

Note 1. When ذاك *dhāka*, ذاك *dhākum*, تلك *tilka*, etc., (§275.2) occur with this function, the direct deixis refers to the person being addressed: **ذاك صاحبكم** *dhākum sāhibukum* ‘Here is your companion!‘.

§279. a) A demonstrative referring to a person may occur in combination with the personal pronoun at the beginning of a phrase: أنا ذا *anā dhā*, هو ذا واقف (واقفا) في دارك *hum hārulā'i*, etc.; أنت ذا *anta dhā*, *huwa dhā wāqifun* (*wāqifan*) *fī dārika* ‘There he is in your house’ (§383 a).

b) In classical Arabic, *hā-* usually precedes the personal pronoun:

هأنا ذي *hā-anā-dhī* ‘Here am I!'; or هأنت ذي *hā-anā-dhī*, f. هأنت ذي *hā-antā-dhā*, f. هأنت ذي *hā-anti-dhī (-tā)*; هي ذي *hā-huwa-dhā*, f. هي ذي *hā-hiya-dhī (-tā)*; هانحن أولاء *hā-naħnu-wulā'i*, etc.

Note 1. إن ذا *hā-inna* (§339) may replace the personal pronoun: *hā-inna-dhā*, (ت) *hā-inna-dhī (-tā)*: *hā-inna-dhī idhratun* ‘There is an excuse!‘.

Note 2. On occasion, the demonstrative is lacking: *hā-antum ta'lamūna* ‘You there sure know it!‘

§280. Demonstratives that introduce clauses are: إذ *iḍh*, إذا *iḍhā*, usually فإذا *fa-iḍhā* ‘there was (and all of a sudden there was)...‘.

إني لعندهم إذ أقبل غير *iḍh* introduces a verbal clause (§§355 ff.): *innī la-indahum iḍh aqbala ḫirun* ‘I was with them, and there came a caravan’ (§407.2).

b) A substantive or pronoun follows إذا *(fa-)iḍhā*: نظرت إليها *(fa-)iḍhā*: ‘I looked at her, and lo! it was a woman’, دخل عليها فإذا هي قد نامت *dakhala alayhā fa-iḍhā hiya qad nāmat* ‘He went in to her, and there she was already asleep’. The subject of the clause, which is something that appears suddenly, is frequently introduced by *bi-* (§294 d): فإذا بأيه *fa-iḍhā bi-abihī* ‘There all

of a sudden was his father', فَإِذَا هُوَ بِأَيْهِ *fa-idhā huwa bi-abīhi* 'All of a sudden, he was face-to-face with his father'.

Note 1. See §§443; 444 on *'idh*, *'idhā* introducing a main clause. See §442 on *'idh* introducing a subordinate clause, and §§464 f. on *'idhā* introducing a subordinate clause.

Definite Clauses (Relative Pronouns)

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
m.	الَّذِي <i>(·a)lladhī</i>	الَّذَانِ <i>(·a)lladhāni</i>	الَّذِينَ <i>(·a)lladhīna</i>
f.	الَّتِي <i>(·a)llātī</i>	الَّتَانِ <i>(·a)llatāni</i>	الَّلَاتِي <i>(·a)llātī</i> or الَّوَاتِي <i>(·a)llawātī</i>

The singular and plural are not inflected. The dual has a nominal inflection: oblique *(·a)lladhayni*, *(·a)llatayni*. The *(·a)l-* at the beginning is the definite article (§§18.1; 142 b).

Note 1. Pre-classical Arabic had masc. and fem. plurals *الأُولى* *(·a)l-ulā* and *الآلَى* *(·a)llātā* (§49 d).

Note 2. ذو *dhū* with the same function, found in pre-classical poetry, is invariable. It is a feature of the dialect of the Tayyi' tribe.

§282. Relative pronouns make attributive clauses definite. Like adjectives (§§113 f.), they agree with the substantives to which they refer: *الرَّجُلُ الَّذِي ضَرَبَهُ* *(·a)r-rajulu lladhī darabtuhū* 'the man whom I struck', (literally) 'the man who — I struck him', *بِالْمَرْأَتَيْنِ الَّتَيْنِ لَقِيَتْهُما* *bi-'l-maratay-ni llatayni laqītuhumā* 'with the two women whom I encountered', *الرَّجَالُ الَّذِينَ ضَرَبَتْهُمْ* *(·a)r-rijālu lladhīna darabtuhum* 'the men whom I struck'. In addition, it functions without antecedent as an independent relative pronoun ('he who, that which'). See §§421 ff.

Nominal Demonstratives

§283. Meaning 'the (possessor, master) of ... , the one with ... ' and always followed by a genitive (§391), the demonstrative ذو *dhū* is inflected nominally: (§150):

Sing. m. nom.	ذو <u><i>dhū</i></u>	f. ذات <u><i>dhātu</i></u>
gen.	ذٰي <u><i>dhī</i></u>	ذات <u><i>dhāti</i></u>
acc.	ذٰا <u><i>dhā</i></u>	ذات <u><i>dhāta</i></u>
Du.	nom. ذوا <u><i>dhawā</i></u>	ذاتا <u><i>dhātā</i></u> , ذاتا <u><i>dhawātā</i></u>
	obl. ذوي <u><i>dhaway</i></u>	ذاتي <u><i>dhātay</i></u> , ذاتي <u><i>dhawātay</i></u>
Pl.	nom. ذوا <u><i>dhawū</i></u> , ألو <u><i>ulū</i></u>	ذوات <u><i>dhawātu</i></u> , أولات <u><i>ulātu</i></u>
	obl. ذوي <u><i>dhawī</i></u> , أولي <u><i>ulī</i></u>	ذوات <u><i>dhawāti</i></u> , أولات <u><i>ulāti</i></u>

Note 1. As a substantive, ذات *dhātun* means 'being, self'.

Note 2. In the adverbial accusative, *dhū* and *dhātu* are used to express indefinite time: ذات صباح *dhā* šabāhin 'one morning', ذات يوم *dhāta yawmin* 'one day'.

Demonstrative Particles

§284. a) Demonstratives referring to location: هنا *hunā*, ههنا *hāhunā* 'here'; هناك *hunāka*, هنالك *hunālikā*, هاهناك *hāhunāka* 'there'; ثم *thamma* 'there'.

b) Demonstratives referring to time: الآن *(·a)l-āna* 'now', إذن *il-* إِذْن إِذْن *idhan* 'then, consequently' (§11.2; cf. §§196.2; 447.1). إذاك *idh-dhāka*, إذذلك *idh-dhālikā* 'at that time'.

Note 1. *(·a)l-āna* is not inflected: حتى الآن *hattā l-āna*, إلى الآن *il-l-āna* 'until now'.

Note 2. إذ *idhin* 'at that time' occurs with substantives that express time: حينئذ *hīna-idhin* 'then, at that time' (= حينذاك *hīna-dhāka*; cf. §276 b), غداً *ghadāta-idhin* 'that morning', يومئذ *yawma-idhin* '(on) that day', etc.

c) Demonstratives referring to manner: كذلك *kadhā*, هكذا *hākadhā*, كذلك *kadhāka*, كذلك *kadhālikā* 'thus, in this/that way'; كذلك *kadhā wa-kadhā*, كذلك *kayta wa-kayta* 'so and so, such and such'.

Interrogatives

§285. a) ما man ‘who?’, ما mā ‘what?’ are used for the singular, dual, and plural: من الرّجلان من al-rajulan ‘Who are the two men?’. ذا dhā, as it introduces a clause, may directly follow: ماذا تصنع mā-dhā tasna‘u ‘What are you making?’.

Note 1. mā may be followed by *li-* (§295): ما لك mā laka ‘What is with you?’, ‘What do you have?’. It may be followed by a verb or an accusative: ما لك تكين mā lahū kādhiban ‘For what is he lying?’, ما لك tabkīna ‘Why are you (fem.) crying?’ (§434.1).

b) ما man and ما mā may function as genitives and be combined with prepositions: في من أخت من انت ukhtu man anti ‘Whose sister are you?’, من فيمن fi-man ‘among whom, among which people?’, مِن mimman (§45) ‘from whom?’. Interrogatives like mā may be abbreviated after prepositions to *ma* (pausal form مه mah): ل lima ‘why?’, بـ bima, عـ amma (§45), حـ hattā-ma (على alā-ma), عـ علام hattā-ma (حتى), etc.

Note 2. Occasionally, *lima*, *bima* become ل lim, بـ bim in poetry.

c) Indefinite ما mā ‘some’ comes after the indefinite state (§141): رجل ما rajulun mā (also rajulum-mā) ‘a certain man’, أمر ما amrun mā (also amrum-mā) ‘a certain affair’. It may also appear between the construct state and a following genitive (§145): يا طول ما شوق yā tūla mā shawqin ‘O so long yearning!’. Similarly, after prepositions: عـ قليل ammā qalīlin = عن قليل an qalīlin ‘shortly, soon’; also frequently, غير ما ghayru mā = غير ghayru ‘other than’ (§325). Cf. §424.2.

§286. a) أي ayyun ‘which?’ (§419.2), almost always with the genitive following: أي رجل ayyu rajulin ‘which man?’, أي النساء ayyu rijālin ‘which men?’, أي النساء ayyu 'l-nisā'i ‘which of the women?’, أينا ayyunā ‘which of us?’. See §287.1 on كأي ka-ayyin.

Note 1. Occasionally, fem. أيه qaryatun ‘which’ occurs: ayyatu qaryatin ‘which village?’.

Note 2. Sometimes, non-classical أيش ayshin, أيش aysh, أيش aysh شـ shayin ‘which thing, what?’ occurs in classical texts.

b) Indefinite أَيْ إِكْرَامٍ *ayyin 'ayyākramahū*: 'any, every': أَيْ إِكْرَامٍ *ayyin 'ayyākramahū* *ayyākramin* 'He bestowed every honor on him'. As an exclamation, it is used to express great admiration: رأينا أَيْ فَارسًا *raaynā fārisan* *ayyā fārisin* 'We saw a rider, and what a rider he was!'.

§287. كم *kam* ‘how much, how often?’; the substantive to which it refers is in the indefinite accusative singular (§384): كم لَكْ درهَماً *kam laka dirhaman* ‘How many dirhams do you have?’. As an exclamation, is used with the genitive or من *min* (§299 a): كم درهم أنفقت *kam dirhamin 'anfaqt* ‘How many dirhams have you spent indeed!’, كم لاقينا من عدو *kam lāqaynā min 'adūwin* ‘How many enemies have we encountered’.

Note 1. کائن کائی *ka-ayyin* has the same meaning, in poetry often > کائن *kā'in*: کائن رأیت من ملوك *kā'in ra'aytu min mulūk* 'So many kings have I seen.'

§288. Other interrogatives: أين *ayna* ‘where, where to?’, أني *annā* ‘where, where from, why is it that?’, كيف *kayfa* ‘how?’, متى *matā*, أیان *ayyāna* ‘when?’.

Note 1. *'ayna*, *kayfa*, *'ayyāna* are not inflected: من أين *min 'ayna* 'where from?', بلا كف *bilā kayfa* 'without how,' i.e., 'without asking how'.

Note 2. On the interrogative particles *'a-*, *hal*, see §335. On *law-lā*, *law-mā* introducing an interrogative clause, see §457.1.

§289. Most of the interrogatives can also be used as relatives: **من** 'who, the one who', **ما** 'what, the one which' **أي** 'ayyu with the genitive 'which of ...', **أين** 'ayna '(there) where', **كيف** 'kayfa 'how', **متى** 'matā '(then) when' (§461).

Note 1. Relative *mā* is not shortened after prepositions: *li-mā*, *li-mimmā* < *min-mā* (§45), etc. Concerning relative clauses, see §§421 ff.

Note 2. Relative *mā* has two other functions: *mā* 'the fact that' (subordinating *mā* §416), *mā* 'as long as' (§462).

§290. In combination with relatives, indefinite ما *mā* has a generalizing sense: مهما *mahmā* < **mā-mā* ‘whatever’, أكما *ayyūmā* ‘whichever’, أينما *aynāmā* ‘wherever’, متاما *matā-mā* ‘whenever’, حيثما *haythumā* ‘wherever’, among others. See §461 for syntactic constructions.

Note 1. In addition to *ayyu-mā*, on occasion أمن *ayyu-man* ‘whoever’ occurs with reference to persons.

Prepositions

§291. a) Primary prepositions: ب *bi-*, ل *li-*, في *fi-*, ك *ka-*, مع *ma-a*, من *min*, عن *an*, (§45), على *alā*, إلى *ilā*, حتى *hattā*, لدى *ladā*, لدن *ladun*; see §§294ff.

Note 1. On the orthography of constructions with *bi-*, *li-*, *ka-*, see §§23; 22. Before the article, *min* is *min-a* (§54). In poetry, مع *ma-* sometimes appears in place of مع *ma-a*.

Note 2. In poetry, *min* and ‘*alā* may be shortened to *mi-*, ‘*a-* (§49 e): م الإبل *mil-ibili* ‘from the camels’, علماء *al-mā'i* ‘on the water’.

b) Secondary prepositions take the form of the accusative in the construct state (§145): أمام *amāma* ‘in front of, in the presence of’, بعد *ba'da* ‘after’, حوالى *hawla* ‘between’ (§308), تحت *tahta* ‘under’, حول *hawla*, بين *bayna* ‘around, about’, خلف *khalfa* ‘behind, after’, دون *dūna* (§309), عند *inda* ‘with’ (§307), فوق *fawqa* ‘above, over, on’, قبل *qabla* ‘before (in time)’, نحو *nahwa* ‘toward’, وراء *warā'a* ‘behind’, وسط *wastā* ‘in the midst of’. More recent formations, e.g.: داخل *dākhila* ‘within’, ضد *didda* ‘against’, etc., are also included in this group.

Note 3. Many prepositions can be combined with *min* or *min* إلى *ilā*: من *min* بعد *ba'di* ‘after completion of’, من فوق *min fawqi* ‘from above, above’, إلى فوق *ilā fawqi* ‘over’, من قبل *min qibali* ‘on the part of, from, by’, among others; also من على *min alā* ‘from above, from on top of’, من لدى *min ladā*, من لدن *min ladun* (§§305 f.). The preposition *min* in such constructions may indicate direction or be partitive (see §299 b and c). دون *dūna* and بدون *bi-dūni* have the same meaning.

Note 4. Diminutives (§81) are formed from several of the secondary prepositions: **بعيد** *bwayda* 'soon after', **قبيل** *qubayla* 'shortly before', **فويق** *fawayqa* 'a little above'; similarly, **تحيت** *tuhayta*, **دوين** *duwayna* (from *dūna*).

§292. a) All prepositions are followed by a genitive. The same rules that apply to substantives (§268) also hold, with a few exceptions, for the addition of personal suffixes (§269) to prepositions: **مع** *ma'i* : 'with me', **معك** *ma'aka* 'with you', etc.; **بعد** *ba'di* 'after me', **بعدك** *ba'daki* 'after him', etc.; **في** *fi* : 'in me', **فيهم** *fihim* 'in them', etc. With *min*, 'an', and *ladun*, the *n* is doubled before the addition of the suffix of the 1st sing.: **متى** *minni*, **عني** *annī*, **لدني** *ladunni*; but **منك** *minka*, **عنك** *anka*, **لدنك** *ladunka*, etc.

Note 1. ك *ka-* 'as, like' and حتى *hattā* 'until' may not take personal suffixes (§297 d).

b) **ل** *li-* becomes **la-** before personal suffixes: **لك** *lī(ya)*, **لـكـ** *laka*, **لـكـيـ** *laki*, **لـهـ** *lahū*, **لـهـاـ** *lahā*, **لـهـمـاـ** *lahumā*, **لـهـنـاـ** *lanā*, **لـكـماـ** *lakumā*, **لـكـنـنـاـ** *lakunna*, **لـهـمـ** *lahum*, **لـهـنـنـ** *lahunna*.

c) The stems of حوالى *ħawālā* 'الى' *ilā*, على *ħawālā* 'الى' *ilā*, **لـدى** *lada*, and **حـواـلـى** *ħawālā* end in *-ay* before the personal suffixes: **عليـكـ** *alayka*, **عليـكـيـ** *alayki*, **عليـكـهـ** *alayhi*, **عليـكـماـ** *alaykumā*, **عليـكـمـاـ** *alayhimā*, **عليـكـنـاـ** *alaynā*, **عليـكـمـ** *alaykum*, **عليـكـنـنـاـ** *alaykunna*, **عليـهـمـ** *alayhim*, **عليـهـنـنـ** *alayhinna*.

§293. a) Prepositions for the most part indicate position or direction. Several are used to express syntactic relationships (§§294 d; 295 a–b; 299.1). Many verbs occur in constructions with dependent prepositional predicate complements, in which the preposition is part of the lexical unit of meaning and modifies the meaning of the verb: رغب في شيء *raghiba fi shay'in* 'He desired something' and رغب عن شيء *raghiba an shay'in* 'He desired something to be away', i.e., 'He loathed it', لـنا ظـهر *zahara lanā* 'It came into our view' and ظـهر عـلـيـنـا *zahara alaynā* 'He got the better of us'. The corresponding verbal substantives, verbal adjectives, and elatives (§§124 ff.) appear in constructions with the same prepositions: هو أرـغـبـ عـنـ ذـلـكـ مـنـكـ *huwa ḥarġibū an dhālikā minka* 'He detests that more than you do'.

b) Prepositional phrases may appear in various syntactic positions: 1. dependent on a verb, verbal substantive, or verbal adjective (see above); 2. as the predicate in a nominal sentence: *الجارية في البيت* (a) *l-jāriyatū fī l-bayti* 'The maid was in her chamber'; 3. as an adverbial modifier: *تَنَامُ الْجَارِيَةُ فِي الْبَيْتِ* *tanāmu l-jāriyatū fī l-bayti* 'The maid is asleep in her room', 4. in apposition: *أخُونَ فِي الدِّينِ* *akhnūn fī 'd-dīni* 'brother in religion'. *ka-* 'as, like' (§297) and *min* 'from' (§299 a–b), like substantives, may occur as subject, predicate, or object.

Note 1. Prepositions may appear in the genitive position only when they depend on other prepositions (§291.3). See §308.7 for an exception.

Note 2. See §§294.5; 302.3; 303.4; 309.1 for the use of prepositional phrases as commands; cf. 351.1.

c) Prepositional phrases that depend on verbal substantives or verbal adjectives frequently come before a verbal noun, especially when the verbal noun is the predicate and the preposition has a personal suffix or appears with a demonstrative: *هذا على ذلك دليل* *hādhā 'alā dhālikā dalīlūn* 'This is proof of that', *كنت إليها مشتاقاً* *kuntu ilayhā mushṭaqān* 'I was filled with longing for her'. Prepositional phrases may be placed at the beginning of a sentence for emphasis: *وَفِيهِ قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ* *wa-fihī qāla 'sh-shā'irū* 'And about him, the poet said ...', *فَبِالْحَلْمِ سَدٌ* *fa-bi-'l-hilmī sud* 'Reign with compassion!'

§294. ب *bi-* in the sense of 'in contact with, close by' is used in the following ways:

a) 'in contact with, by': *بعثه برسالة إلى أبيها* *ba'aathahū bi-risālatin 'ilā abihā* 'He sent him with a message to her father', *بعث برسالة* *ba'aathā bi-risālatin* 'He sent a message', *ما ي من غضب* *mā bī min qhadabīn* 'the anger that is in me'; in oaths, and other similar constructions: *قسمت بالله* *aqsamtu bi-'l-lāhi* 'I swear by God', *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ* *bi-smi 'l-lāhi* 'in the name of God' (§22 c); indicating content: *أمر بقتله* *amara bi-qatlīhī* 'He gave the order to kill him', *بعد موته بيومين* *ba'da mawtihī bi-yawmaynī* 'after his death by two days', i.e., 'two days after his death'; – indicating time and place: *bi-'l-bābi* 'at the gate', *بِالْمِصْرِ* *bi-Miṣra* 'in Egypt', *بِاللَّيلِ* *bi-'l-layli* 'at night'.

Note 1. *bi-* indicates the object to which something happens: عمل بشيء 'amila *bi-shayin* 'He occupied himself with something' as opposed to عمل شيئاً *amila shayan* 'He did something'.

Note 2. *bi-* is used as a particle to introduce an oath: بالله *bi-'l-lāhi* 'by God!'. The oath particles *wa-* and *ta-* are also used in this kind of construction: والله *wa-'l-lāhi* تالله *ta-'l-lāhi* 'by God!', والذى نفسى بيده *wa-'lladhi nafsi bi-yadihi* 'by Him in whose hand is my soul' (i.e., 'by God!').

Note 3. Cf. §§260.1; 452 b on فبها *fa-bihā* 'well and good'.

Note 4. بـلا *bi-lā* بغير *bi-ghayri* 'not in connection with' means 'without'; بلا شك *bi-lā shakkin* 'without doubt', بـلا ضرورة *bi-ghayri daruratin* 'without necessity, unnecessarily'.

b) Intransitive verbs expressing movement take on a kind of factitive meaning with *bi-*: أتاه بكتاب *atāhu bi-kitābin* 'He came to him with a book' = أتاه كتاباً *atāhu kitāban* 'He brought him a book', قام بغاره *qāma bi-gharatin* 'He undertook a raid' (literally, 'stood up with ...').

Note 5. Similarly, in usages like: أنا لك بذلك أُنَا لَك بِذَلِك *anā laka bi-dhālikā* 'I shall obtain that for you', على بـ *alayya bihī* 'Bring him to me!' (§302.3). See §222 on the use of the imperative with *bi-*.

c) 'By means of, with the help of': ضربه بالعصا *darabahū bi-'l-aṣā* 'He struck him with a stick', اشتري شاة بدرهم *shtarā shātan bi-dirhamin* '(i.) شترى شاة بـدرهم' 'He bought a sheep for a dirham'; thus, also in the meaning of 'in place of, as substitute for': باع شاة بـدرهم *bā'a shātan bi-dirhamin* 'He sold a sheep for a dirham', اعطيه ديناراً *atāhu bi-abyātihī dīnāran* 'I gave him a dinar for his verses', قتلته بـزید *qatalahū bi-Zaydin* 'He killed him instead of Zayd', بأبي أنت وأمي *bi-abī anta wa-ummi* 'You are instead of my father and mother', i.e., 'You take the place of my father and mother'; — with persons, often 'in the person of': شتمت به حبيباً إليني *shatamta bihī muḥabbaban rilayya* 'You vilify in (him) his person one who is beloved to me'.

d) The nominal predicate or the predicate accusative (§382) in negative or interrogative sentences is frequently introduced by *bi-*: تكن بصغرىة *lam takun bi-saghîratin* ‘She was not small’, هل هو بصادق *hal huwa bi-sâdîqin* ‘Is he sincere?’.

Note 6. In positive sentences, *bi-* as predicate is very infrequent (§363.1); it occurs somewhat more often with verbs with a declarative meaning: سماه بكرىم *sammâhu bi-karîmin* ‘He called him a noble man’.

Note 7. *bi-* as a predicate occurs in other usages: إذا ب *iðhâ bi-* (§280 b), كأن ب *habba bi-* (§263.2), حب ب *ka-anna ... bi-* (§365.1).

Note 8. Several terms indicating totality and identity occur in apposition with *bi-*: (a) الناس بجمعهم *n-nâsû bi-jam'ihim* ‘the people altogether’ (§138.2) في ذلك المكان بعينه *huwa bi-nafsihî* ‘he himself’, (b) هو بنفسه *fi dhâlikâ 'l-makâni bi-'aynihî* ‘in this exact place’, (c) رجل بعينه *rajulun bi-'aynihî* ‘a certain man’.

§295. ل *li-* (*la-*) ‘to’ is used in the following ways:

a) ‘to’, in space and time: انكبت لوجهه *(i) nkabba li-wajhihî* ‘He fell onto his face’, لأول مرة *li-awwali marratin* ‘for the first time’; indicating the indirect object: قدم له شيئاً *qâla lahû* ‘He said to him’, قال له *qaddama lahû shayan* ‘He presented him with something’; — also to paraphrase the direct object of participles and verbal substantives (§§203.2; 206.3): كان مضحكا للناس *kâna mudhîkan lin-nâsî* ‘He was one who made the people laugh’; with verbs, if the object must precede the verb: للذين هم لربهم يرعبون *li-ladhîna hum li-rabbihim yarhabûna* (Koran 7:154) ‘those who fear their Lord’.

Note 1. *li-* is used in expressions of time and date: لوقته *li-waqtihî* ‘at its time’, i.e., ‘immediately’, ملکه *li-sanatin madat min mulkihî* ‘when one year of his reign had passed’, شعبان من خلون *li-sab'i layâlin khalawna min shabâna* ‘when seven days had gone by in Sha'bân’, i.e., ‘on the seventh of Sha'bân’.

Note 2. See §294.5 on أنا لكم ب *anâ la-kum bihî* ‘I am for you with him’, i.e., ‘I shall get him for you’; on ما له *mâ lahû* with the accusative or a verb, see §285.1.

Note 3. See §438 on *li-* with the subjunctive; §195 with the jussive.

b) ‘belonging to’: كتاب له *kitābun lahū* ‘a book of his (written by him or owned by him)’, أنشد لأبي نواس *anshada li-Abī Nuwāsin* ‘He cited a verse of Abū Nuwās’, كان للعبد حمار *kāna lil-abdi himārun* ‘The slave had an ass’, إِنَّا لِلَّهِ مَا إِنَّا لَهُ مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ *innā li-lلāhi mā innā lahu mā lā yasla lahū* ‘We belong to God’; in constructions with persons, frequently with the meaning ‘be someone’s right, due’ ذلك لكم *dhālikum* ‘That is your due!’, أَنْ لَمْ يَحْلُّ لَكُمْ *an dhālikum* ‘It is not your right, it is not possible for you, it is not allowed for you to ...’.

Note 4. In this meaning, *li-* is used to paraphrase the genitive after the indefinite state; see §146.1.

c) ‘in favor of, for’: بني لنا قصرا *banā lanā qaṣran* ‘He built a castle for us’; — ‘with regard to, because of’: تبكي لولدها *tabkī li-waladīhā* ‘She cried over her child’, جئتكم حاجة *jītukā li-hājatī* ‘I came to you because of a concern’, يقال له محمد *yiqāl lahu Muḥammad* ‘Therefore he is called Muhammad’, One says to him Muhammad’, i.e., ‘He is called Muhammad’.

Note 5. In contrast to على *‘alā*, which expresses something to which someone has an obligation, *li-* refers to something to which one has a right: لي عليه ألف درهم *lī alayhi ḥalfu dirhamīn* ‘He owes me 1000 dirhams’.

d) Sometimes *li-* indicates the cause or originator: تهال له العين *tuhālu lahū 'l-aynu* ‘One (the eye) is struck with terror by him’.

§296. في *fi* ‘in, within, in the midst of’ is used in the following ways:

a) location, ‘in, inside’ (place and direction): في البحر والبر *'l-baḥri wa-'l-barri* ‘in the sea and on land’, وقع في البئر *waqā'a fi 'l-bīrī* ‘He fell into the well’; time, ‘in, during’: في خلافة عمر *fi khilāfati 'Umara* ‘during the caliphate of Umar’, في ما مضى *fi mā madā* ‘in that which has passed’, i.e., ‘in the past’; ‘in the midst of, among’: بعثه في جيش *ba'athahū fi-jayshin* ‘He sent him in the company of, i.e., with an army’, من فيكم الأكبر *man fikum-u 'l-akbaru* ‘Who among you is the oldest?’, سرنا في خمسة رجال *sirnā fi khamsati rijālin* ‘We travelled in a party of five men’.

b) By extension, *fī* may mean ‘in the realm of, with respect to, concerning, about’: اختلفوا في ذلك *i*) *khtalafū fī dhālika* ‘They disagreed on that’, مثل الخنزير في اللين *bābun fī 'l-khayli* ‘a chapter on the horse’, باب في الخيل *mithlu 'l-khazzi fī 'l-līni* ‘like silk in smoothness’, i.e., ‘smooth as silk’.

Note 1. On occasion, *fī* may mean, like *bi-*, ‘in the person of’: قد كان لكم فيه أسوة *qad kāna lakum fīhi uswatun* ‘You had in him an example’.

Note 2. In arithmetic, *fī* indicates that number by which another is multiplied: ضرب ثلاثة في خمسة *daraba thalāthata fī khamsata* ‘He multiplied three by five’ (See §129.5).

Note 3. *fī* indicates the object of desire in uses like: هل لك في (أن) من له في (أن) *hal laka fī ('an) man lāhū fī ('an)* ‘Who desires to ...?’

§297. a) كـ *ka-* ‘as, like’ is used in qualitative comparison: رجال كأسود الغابة *rījālun ka-rusūdi* ‘men like lions of the thicket’, قد خلته كصخرة *qad khiltuhū ka-sakhratin* ‘I imagined him as a rock’, كذلك *ka-dhālika* ‘so, like this, thus’ (§284 c).

Note 1. The personal suffixes are not added to *ka-*; however, they do combine with مثل *mithlu* (see below). Nevertheless, *ka-* may on rare occasion appear in constructions with independent personal pronouns: كأنا *ka-'anā* ‘like me’, كانت *ka-'anta* ‘like you’, فهو *ka-huwa* ‘like him’.

Note 2. Sporadically, كما *ka-mā* occurs in the sense of *ka-* (§285 c); cf. §418 b. Concerning كأي *ka-ayyin*, see §287.1.

b) *ka-* frequently functions as a substantive: ‘one like ...’, ‘something like ...’: كليلة *ka-'l-laylati* ‘something like this night, a night like this’, يرينا كذلك *yurīnā ka-'d-darāhimī* ‘He showed us something like dirhams’. In poetry, such expressions are sometimes combined with additional prepositions: تفتت عن كالأقوان *taftarru 'an ka-'l-uqhuwāni* ‘When he laughed, he showed something like camomile flowers, i.e., teeth’.

Note 3. Sometimes *ka-* functions as a relative: **كَيْنِ** *ka-hīni* ‘some-time when’ (on **هِنَا**, see §346). It is also used to indicate examples: **الْأَلْوَانُ كَالْحُمْرَةِ وَالصَّفْرَةِ** *(a)l-alwānu ka-l-humrati wa-as-sufrati* ‘colors like red, yellow . . .’.

c مثلاً *mīthlu*, pl. **أَمْثَالٍ** *amthālu* ‘something like, one like’ (§§146 b; 388 b), which is inflected as a noun, has the same meaning as *ka-*: **أَمْثَالُهُمْ** *amthālūhum* ‘people like them’, **قُلْ لَهُ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ** *qul lahu mīthla dhālikā* ‘Speak to him in that way’, **أَتَى بِنَاقَةٍ مِثْلَ نَاقِيِّ** *atā bi-nāqatin mīthli nāqatī* ‘He came with a camel like mine’. It may also be combined with *ka-*: **لَيْسَ كَمُثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ** *laysa ka-mīthlihi shayrun* ‘There is nothing like him’.

§298. مع *ma'a* ‘together with, simultaneously with’: **خَرَجُوا مَعَهُ** *kharajū ma'ahū* ‘They went out together with him’, **ذَهَبْنَا بِهِ مَعَنَا** *dhahabnā bihī ma'anā* ‘We took him away with us’ (§294 b), **إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ** *inna 'l-lāha ma'a 's-sābirīnā* ‘God is with those who are steadfast’, **وَقَالَ مَعَ ذَلِكَ** *wa-qāla ma'a dhālikā* ‘And, moreover, he said . . .’. Frequently, a simultaneous condition is referred to, because of which or despite which something has occurred: **قُتِلَ مَعَ قُوَّتِهِ** *qutila ma'a quwwatihī* ‘Despite his strength, he was killed’.

§299. من *min* has two distinct uses: ‘of, part of, some of’ (a–b) and ‘from, from the direction of, away from’ (c–d).

Note 1. As a result of these two uses, *min* may be employed to paraphrase the genitive, when it is necessary to circumvent the formal requirements of the construct state (§§145 f.): **بَيْتُهُ مِنْ بَيْوَنَةٍ** *baytun min buyūtihī* ‘one of his houses’, **فِي الْجَانِبِ الشَّرْقِيِّ مِنَ النَّهْرِ** *fi 'l-jānibi 'sh-sharqiyyi min-a 'n-nahri* ‘on the east bank of the river’.

a) *min* ‘of, part of, some of’ indicates belonging to a larger entity: **لَيْسَ هَذَا مِنْ عَادَاتِهِ** *laysa hādhā min 'adātihi* ‘This is not one of his habits’, **مِنْهُمْ مَنْ تُحِبُّهُمْ** *minhum man tuhibbuhum* ‘Among them are those you love’, **أَنْتَ مِنْهُ** *anta minhu* ‘You belong to him’. *min* also indicates kind or material: **هَذَا مِنْ عِيشَتِهِ** *hadhā min-a 'l-khawfi* ‘some fear’, **شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْحَوْفِ** *shayrun min-a 'l-khawfi* ‘such a life’, **عَدُوكُمْ مِنْ أَهْلِ فَارْسٍ** *adūwukum min 'ahl fārisa* ‘your enemy from among the Persians’, i.e., ‘your enemy, the Persians’, **لِبَاسُكُمْ مِنْ حَرَبِكُمْ** *libāsun min-a 'l-haribī* ‘a garment of silk’. Instead of

referring to a whole, it may refer to an entity consisting of more than one part: كُلَّ مِنْ رِجَالٍ وَنِسَاءٍ *kullun min rijālin wa-nisārin* ‘all, namely men and women’. With an indefinite genitive (§141 c), *min* is used in apposition as a means of explication, especially with proper names and personal suffixes: شَلَّتْ يَدَا زَيْدٍ مِنْ قَاتِلٍ *shallat yadā Zaydin min qātilin* ‘May the hands of Zayd (who belongs to the genus “murderer”, i.e.), that murderer, wither!’, قَبَّحَهَا اللَّهُ مِنْ سَيْفٍ *qabahahā 'l-lāhu min suyūfin* ‘May God ruin them, the swords!’, حَيَّتْ مِنْ أَخْ *hayyīta min 'akhīn* ‘May you, a brother, be greeted!’. See also §421.2.

Note 2. See §425 c on *min* used to supplement a relative.

Note 3. من غير خلاف *min ghayri* (§325) means ‘without’: *min ghayri khilāfin* ‘without contradiction’.

Note 4. In archaic usage, an accusative often replaces the *min* of explication; cf. §§128.2; 263.

b) *min* ‘a part of’ is used to indicate a partitive relationship, ‘some of . . . , someone of . . . ’: شَرِبْتُ مِنَ الْمَاءِ *sharibtu min-a 'l-mā'i* ‘I drank some (of the) water’, قد أَصَابَ فَوَادِهِ مِنْ حَبْبِهِ *qad ḥasāba fwādahū min ḥubbihā* ‘His heart was stricken with (some) love for her’, أَمْرَتْ أَنْ أَكُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ *'umirtu 'an 'akūna min-a 'l-mu'minīnā* ‘I was commanded to be one of the believers’; in negative and interrogative sentences: ما نَسِيَتْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ *mā nasītu min shay'in* ‘I have not forgotten any of it’, هل لَكُمْ مِنْ أَبٍ *hal lakum min 'abin* ‘Do you have a father?’’. In combination with terms that denote place and time, *min* refers to a certain segment of the place or time: من فَوْقِ سَاحَابَنْ *min fawqihī saḥābun* ‘(In the space) above him were clouds’, من دَاخِلِ الْمَسْجِدِ *min dākhili 'l-masjidi* ‘(at a place) within the mosque’, من بَعْدِ مَوْتِهِ *min bādi mawtihī* ‘in the time after his death’, من اللَّيلِ *min al-layli* ‘in a part of the night,’ i.e., ‘at night’, من الغَدِ *min-a 'l-ghadi* ‘the next morning,’ رَجَعَ مِنْ وَقْتِهِ *raja'a min waqtihī* ‘He returned (in a part of his time, i.e.) at the same time, immediately’.

c) *min* ‘from’ indicates the direction from which something comes out: خَرَجَ صَوْتٌ مِنَ الْبَابِ *kharaja sawtun min-a 'l-bābi* ‘A voice came out of the gate’, دَخَلَ مِنَ الْبَابِ *dakhala min-a 'l-bābi* ‘He came in through (from) the gate’; — in constructions with other prepositions: جاءَ مِنْ عَنْ الْخَلِيفَةِ *jā-*

من فوق ظهر 'a min *indi* 'l-khalīfati 'He came from being with the Caliph', الفرس *min fawqi zahri* 'from (off) the back of the horse' (§291.3); in time: *ba'da hawlin min maqtali akhīhi* 'a year since the murder of his brother'. *min* frequently indicates the origin or cause: *laqītu minka sharran* 'I felt evil coming from you', هذا منك *hādhā minka* 'this from you', i.e., 'this as a result of your behavior', من نباء نبي *min nabarin jā'anī* 'because of a report that came to me', من بغضه *min bughdīhī* 'out of hate for him'; cf. §199.2.

d) In the meaning 'away from', *min* indicates distance: قریب منه *qarībun minhu* 'near him', يعرف الحيد من الرديء *yārifū 'l-jayyida min-a 'r-radī'i* 'He (knows) can distinguish the perfect from the worthless'; 'in relation to': أين نحن منه *'ayna nāhnu minka* 'Where are we in relation to you', i.e., 'how incomparable is our situation to yours!', ما هذا منزلته من الأمير *manzilatuhū min-a 'l-'amīri* 'His status in relation to the prince', ما الغلام منه *mā hādhā 'l-ghulāmu minka* 'What is this boy in relation to you?'. See §125 on the use of *min* in the comparative elative.

§300. منذ *mundhu*, مذ *mudh* (< **min-dhū* §52.2) 'from ...on,' 'since', 'ago' is treated as both a conjunction and a preposition. According to the rules of Arab grammarians, it should be treated as a preposition only when it refers to an unexpired period of time: منذ السنة *mundhu 's-sanati* = *min-a 's-sanati* 'as of, from this year on, since this year', but منذ سنة *mundhu sanatun* 'a year ago'. Contrary to this rule, the genitive nevertheless is often used after *mundhu*.

Note 1. A clause usually follows *mundhu* when used as a conjunction: منذ نحن من الأغنياء *mundhu khuliqnā* 'since we were created', منذ خلقنا *mundhu nahnu min-a 'l-'aghniyā'i* 'since we were counted among the rich'.

§301. a) عن (*an*) 'from, away from' designates complete removal or departure from: بعيد عن الحق *ba'īdun 'an al-haqqa* 'far removed from the truth', سكت عني *sakata 'annī* 'He sat silent opposite (cut off from) me', شغله عن شيء *shaghalahū 'an shay'in* 'He occupied him away from something', i.e., 'he distracted him', مات عن ولد *māta 'an waladin* 'He died, leaving behind a child'. Like *min* (§299 c-d), '*an* also indicates distance and source: كان ذلك عن أمرك *kan dhalik 'an shimālin* 'on the left'; 'on the basis of':

kāna dhālikā ‘an ḥamrika ‘That happened on account of your command’, *ḥaddathānī Hishāmun ‘an abīhi* حَدَثَنِي هِشَامٌ عَنْ أَبِيهِ ‘Hisham related on the authority of his father’.

Note 1. عن يمينه (*شماليه*) ‘to his right (left)’ · *an yamīnihī (shimālihī)* may be combined with *min*: من عن يمينه *min ‘an yamīnihī* ‘on the right side of him.’

Note 2. In the expression عن قريب (*قليل*) (*an qaribin (qalīlin)* or عَنْ قَرِيبٍ (*ammā qaribin (qalīlin)*) ‘in a short time, shortly’ (cf. §285 c), ‘*an* designates a time interval.

b) ‘*an*’ عن has numerous lexicalized usages, such as the ‘elimination of a condition’: أطعمه عن المجموع *‘aṭamahū ‘an-i l-jūi* ‘He gave him something to eat to dispel his hunger’; ‘in defense of’: أقاتل عنك *uqātilu ‘anka* ‘I fought in your defence’; ‘opposition’: فسق عن أمر ربه *fasaqa ‘an ḥamri rabbihī* ‘He deviated from the command of his lord’; ‘as a substitute for’: الإبل التي نحرت عنك *(a)l-ibilu llatī nuhīrat ‘anka* ‘the camels that were slaughtered instead of you’; ‘incompatibility’: ضاق عن الساق خلخالها *dāqa ‘an-i ‘s-sāqi khalkhāluhā* ‘Her anklet was too small for her leg’; ‘exposing’: تبسم عن دڑ *tabsimu ‘an durrin* ‘She laughed showing [her] pearls (i.e., teeth)’; also to refer to a topic, i.e., ‘on, about’: سئل عنها *swila ‘anhā* ‘He was asked about her’.

Note 3. ‘*an*’ may refer equally to something that has been removed as to that from which it has been removed: عفا عن ذنبه *afā ‘an dhanbihī* ‘He forgave his sin’ or عفا عنه ذنبه *afā ‘anhu dhanbahū* ‘He forgave him his sin’.

§302. على (*alā*) ‘on, above’ is used in the following ways:

a) ‘on top of’, ‘above’: على وجه الماء *alā wajhi l-māi* ‘on the surface of the water, over the water’, عليه ثوب *alayhi thawbun* ‘On him is (i.e., he wore) a garment’: to indicate superiority: كان أميراً على العراق *kāna ḥamīran alā l-irāqi* ‘He was commander over Iraq’; ‘at the front of’: لقيهم على ماء *laqiyahum alā māin* ‘He met them at a watering hole’, قرأ على أبيه *qara'a alā abīhi* ‘He recited (the Koran) before his father, i.e., studied it under his guidance’.

Note 1. Infrequently in expressions of time: على حين *'alā hīni* 'at the time of ...', على عهد *'alā 'ahdi* 'in the era of ...'.

Note 2. *'alā* as 'over, higher than' is used for comparison: **فضلنا بعضهم على بعض منهم** *faddalnā ba'dahum 'alā ba'din minhum* (Koran 2:253) 'We preferred some of them to the others'.

b) 'onto, into the presence of, before': سقط على الأرض *saqata 'alā 'l-ardī* 'He fell onto the ground', دخل على الملك *dakhala 'alā 'l-maliki* 'He came into the presence of the king', خاف عليك *khāfa 'alayka* 'He was fearful in your presence' often to indicate that against which something is directed: تجبر عدوتنا علينا *tujīru 'adūwanā 'alaynā* 'You defended our enemy against us', دعا علينا *da'a 'alaynā* 'He invoked (God) against us', i.e., 'cursed us' as opposed to دعا لهم *da'a lahum* 'He invoked (God) in favor of them', i.e., 'blessed them'.

c) 'obligation, duty': هذا حرام عليكم *hādhā harāmun 'alaykum* 'This is forbidden to you', عليك أن تفعل ذلك *'alayka 'an taf'alā dhālikā* 'You are obligated (it is your duty) to do that'; cf. §295.5.

Note 3. Similarly in these uses: عليك به *'alayka bihi* 'Depend on him!', عليه بي *'alayhi bī* 'He must rely on me!'

d) 'on the basis of', for indicating the basis of a condition or action: ليس حكمه على شيء *laysa hukmuhū 'alā shay'in* 'His judgment is baseless', هذا على قسمين *hādhā 'alā qismayni* 'This consists of two parts', هو على دين آباء *huwa 'alā dīni 'abārihī* 'He follows the religions of his fathers', ما أنا عليه *mā 'anā 'alayhi* 'that (i.e., the condition) in which I am', جاء على أنه أبي *jār 'alā 'abī* 'He came by virtue of his being my father', صلحنا على ألف دينار *sālahanā 'alā 'alfi dīnārin* 'He made peace with us on the condition (that he be paid) 1,000 dinars'; to express a negative pre-condition ('despite'): قتله على صغر سنّه *qatalahū 'alā sīgharī sinnihī* 'He killed him despite his young age'; — often in the sense of 'following the pattern of, corresponding to, according to': كانت عدتنا على عدتهم *kānat iiddatunā 'alā iiddatihim* 'Our number corresponds to theirs', هذا على ما ذكرناه *hādhā 'alā mā dhakarnāhu* 'This is according to what we have reported'.

Note 4. ‘alā . . . min is used to indicate distance: كان من مكّة على ليلة kāna min Makkata ‘alā laylatīn ‘It was a night(’s journey) distant from Mecca’, على ستة أشهر من خلافة عمر، ‘alā sittati ‘ashhurin min khilāfati ‘Umara ‘After six months of the caliphate of Umar’.

Note 5. ‘alā yaday, على أيدي ‘alā aydī ‘at the hand of’ has the sense ‘as a result of the act of, through, by’.

§303. إلى ilā ‘in the direction of, toward’ is used to indicate:

a) a direction, a goal, or an obtainable end: إليك قطعنا الفلاة ilayka qatānā ‘l-falāta ‘(On our way) to you, we traversed the desert’, أمر به إلى السجن amara bihī ilā ‘l-sijni ‘He ordered him (thrown) into prison’; إلى سنته ilā ‘l-yawmi ‘until today’, إلى سنة ilā sanatin ‘(after a period) of up to a year’, ثمانيون دينارا إلى مائة thamānūna dīnāra, ilā miyatīn ‘80 to 100 dinars’.

Note 1. ilā may be combined with other prepositions (§291.3).

Note 2. In addition to min . . . ilā ‘from . . . to’, in post-classical Arabic, min . . . wa-ilā sometimes occurs; cf. §308.5.

Note 3. ilā often occurs for li- (§295), when there is ambiguity: هو أحب إلى منك huwa ‘ahabbu ilayya minka ‘He is dearer to me than you’.

b) a tendency to, belonging to, and the like: لونه إلى السواد lawnūhū ilā ‘s-sawādi ‘His color tends toward black’, كان إليه الشرطة kāna ilayhi ‘sh-shurṭu ‘The police were assigned to him’, الشام وما إليه من البلاد (‘a) sh-Shāmu wa-mā ilayhā min-a ‘l-bilādi ‘Damascus and the country that belongs to it’; هو إلى الطول ما هو huwa ilā ‘t-tūli mā huwa ‘He tends to be somewhat tall’.

c) the immediate proximity: وجدناهم إلى نهر الأردن wajadnāhum ilā nahri ‘l-‘Urdunni ‘We found them at the river Jordan’, إلى جانبه ilā jā-nibihī ‘at his side, next to him’.

Note 4. As an order, إليك ilayka means ‘Keep back!, be off’; in the same way, إليك عني ilayka ‘annī ‘Stay away from me!’.

§304. حتى *hattā* 'until, to (cf. §439) is occasionally treated like a preposition: حتى المات *hattā l-mamāti* 'until death'.

Note 1. In cases like دعاهم بأجمعهم حتى عمرو *da'a hum bi-aajmā'i him hattā 'Amrin* 'He summoned them all together up to and including Amr', *hattā* acquires the meaning 'even' and is treated in post-classical Arabic as a particle: دعاهم بأجمعهم حتى عمرا *da'a hum bi-aajmā'i him hattā 'Amran* 'He summoned them all together, even Amr', قد جاء كل الناس حتى أنت *qad jā'a kullu 'n-nāsi hattā 'anta* 'All the people have come, even you'.

§305. لدى *ladā* 'at, near': لاقيته لدى الباب *lāqaytuhū ladā 'l-bābi* 'I met him at the door', ما لدى *mā ladayya* 'What is with me?', i.e., 'What do I have with me?' or 'What do I feel?', لدى القبط *ladā 'l-qayzi* 'in summer'; أتي من لديك *atā min ladaykum* 'He came from you'.

هب لنا من *ladun*, in the construction من لدن *min ladun* 'from' من لدن *min ladun* 'from' من لدن رحمة *hab lanā min ladunka rahmatan* (Koran 3:8) 'Give us compassion from You!', من لدن ابتدائه إلى تمامه *min ladun-i 'btidā'ihi tilā tamāmihi* 'From its beginning to its end'.

Note 1. Frequently, *ladun*, with or without *min*, is a conjunction 'since': من لدن متع الصبح *(min) ladun mata'a 'd-duhā* 'Since the forenoon shone brightly; also من لدن غدوة حتى غابت الشمس *ladun ghudwatan hattā ghābat-i 'sh-shamsu* 'from morning until the sun set' (§439). Also used as conjunctions are من لدن أن *(min) ladun 'an (anna)*, منذ لدن *mundhu ladun* (§300).

Note 2. من لد *min ladu* occurs as a rare short form.

شفعاؤنا عند *inda* 'at' indicates that which is present or available: عندك لها دواء *shufa'a-unā inda 'l-lāhi* 'our intercessors with God', عند الله *indaka lahā dawā'un* '(With you is, i.e.) you possess a remedy for it', الحلم عند *kānat indahū* 'She was in his possession (i.e., his wife)', الغضب عند *(a)l-hilmu 'inda 'l-ghadabi* 'clemency considering the anger'; in time: *inda 'l-qāhti* 'during the famine', عند ذلك *inda dhālikā* 'then, thereupon, at the moment'.

Note 1. ‘inda frequently means ‘in the opinion of’: كَانَ عِنْدَنَا مِيَّتًا *kāna indanā mayyitan* ‘He was in our opinion dead’, مَا عَنْدَكَ *mā indakā* ‘What do you think?’.

Note 2. ‘inda may occur in constructions with *min* and ‘ilā in a directional sense; cf. §§291.3; 299 c.

§308. a) بين (*bayna* ‘between, among’) indicates both separation and connection between things: جَعَ بَيْنَهُمْ *jama'a baynahum* ‘He brought them together’, عَيْزَ بَيْنَ وَجْهَيْنِ *yumayyizu bayna wajhayni* ‘He distinguished (between) the two viewpoints’; in reciprocal relationships: قَالَ النَّسَاءُ بَيْنَهُنَّ *qālat al-nisā' baynahnā* ‘The women spoke to each other’.

Note 1. In combination with *bayna*, verbal stem III means ‘bring about separation or connection’: عَادَى بَيْنَهُمْ *ādā baynahum* ‘He promoted enmity among them’, لَاءَمَ بَيْنَهُمْ *lā'ama baynahum* ‘He brought about a reconciliation between them’.

Note 2. *bayna yaday* (‘between the hands of’) means ‘before, in the presence of’: قَامَ بَيْنَ يَدِي الْأَمِيرِ *qāma bayna yaday-i 'l-amīri* ‘He stood before the prince’, also بَيْنَ يَدِي سَرِيرَهِ *bayna yaday saririhī* ‘before his throne’; sometimes with the same meaning بَيْنَ أَيْدِي *aydī* بَيْنَ أَرْجُلِ *aydī bayna arjuli* (from رِجْل *rijlun* ‘foot’).

Note 3. *bayna* may be combined with *min* and ‘ilā when they designate direction: خَرَجَ مِنْ بَيْنَهُمْ *kharaja min baynihim* ‘He departed from their midst’ (§291.3).

b) ‘Between ... and’ is expressed by بَيْنَ ... وَ *bayna ... wa-*; when the pronominal suffixes are added or clarification is necessary, it is بَيْنَ ... وَبَيْنَكَ *baynī wa-baynaka* ‘between you and me’. As a result of contamination from *min ... ilā* (*hattā*) ‘from ... up to’, one sometimes encounters بَيْنَ الصَّفَّإِلِيَّ الْمَرْوَةِ *bayna ... ilā (hattā)*: بَيْنَ الصَّفَّإِلِيَّ الْمَرْوَةِ *bayna 'ṣ-Safā ... ilā 'l-Marwata* ‘between Ṣafā and Marwa’ or ‘from Ṣafā to Marwa’.

Note 4. In poetry, with the same meaning, بَيْنَ ... فَ *bayna ... fa-* (§329) is used with terms denoting places.

Note 5. Also as a result of contamination, the expression *bayna ... wa-ilā* (*fa-ilā*) occasionally occurs; cf. §303.2.

c) ما بين (*mā bayna*) occurs instead of *bayna* when the expression is syntactically a nominative or genitive: فرق ما بيننا وبينهم *farqu mā baynanā wa-baynahum* 'the difference between them and us'; *mā bayna* also appears in the position of an accusative: كان ينام ما بين المغرب والعشاء *kāna yanāmu mā bayna 'l-maghribi wa-'l-iṣhā'i* 'He used to sleep (in the time) between sunset and evening prayer'.

Note 6. *fi-mā bayna* is close in meaning to *bayna*: قالوا فيما بينهم *qālū fi-mā baynahum* 'They spoke among themselves'.

Note 7. In pre-classical Arabic, *bayna* may be rendered in the genitive: مودة بينكم *mawaddatu baynikum* 'the love between you'.

d) With an indefinite genitive singular (§141 c) following, *bayna ... wa-* indicates a whole consisting of several parts ("partly ... partly, some ... some"): تراهم بين قائم وقاعد *tarāhum bayna qārimin wa-qā'idin* 'You see them, some standing, some sitting'. In this use, *bayna* may appear with partitive *min*: تأتون من بين تاجر وأجير *tatūna min bayni tājirin wa-'ajirin* 'You come, some merchants, some workers'. Sometimes, أو *'aw* 'or' occurs with the same meaning instead of *wa-*: قوم بين هارب أو قتيل *qawmūn bayna hārabin 'aw qatīlin* 'a people, partly fleeing, partly killed'.

§309. a) دون *dūna* 'beneath' denotes an inferior position: شعب دون القمة *shū'būn dūna 'l-qunnaṭi* 'a ravine below the peak'; mostly in reference to rank, value, or weight 'under, short of': النحاس دون الفضة *(a) l-nuḥāṣu dūna 'l-fiddati* 'copper is of less value than silver', ليس بدونه *laysa bi-dūnihi* (§291.3) 'He is not beneath him (in rank)'.

b) 'before, on this side', to describe a position that obstructs or protects against something: إنك دون الناس *innahū lakum dūna 'n-nāsi* 'He stood (as protection) for you before the people', أغلق دوني الباب *'aghlaqa dūnī 'l-bāba* 'He locked the door on me (closing me in or locking me out)', إن دون الليلة *inna dūna 'l-ghadi 'l-laylata* 'Before morning is night'.

Note 1. دونك *dūnaka* '(There it is) before you!' as a command 'Seize it!' is used with the accusative: دونك الدّرهم *dūnaka 'd-dirhama* 'Take the dirham!', دونكموها *dūnakumūhā* 'Grab them/her!'. As an interjection *dūnaka* has the sense of 'look out, take care!'.

c) 'Apart from, to the exclusion of, barring, without', as when the hindrance is considered insurmountable: لا يكتسب المال دون مشقة *lā yuktasabu 'l-mālu dūna* (or *bi-dūni*) *mashaqqatin* 'Nothing is acquired without toil' معه ألف عبد دون من كان من عشيرته *maahū 'alfu 'abdin dūna man kāna min 'ashīratihī* 'He has 1,000 slaves, excluding his family members'.

Note 2. In this use, *dūna* is often combined with *min*: يعبدون الأصنام من دون الله *ya'budūna 'l-aṣnāma min dūni 'l-lāhi* 'They worship the idols (to the exclusion of God, i.e.), but not God'.

Particles of Exception and Restriction

§310. إِلَّا *illā* 'except, unless' (< **in-lā* 'if not'):

a) In positive sentences, the exception follows in the accusative: قُلْ كُلُّهُمْ إِلَّا أَبَاكَ *qutila kulluhum illā 'abāka* 'All were killed except your father', اشتراه بعشرة درهم إِلَّا واحداً *shtarāhu bi-mi'ati dirhamin illā wāhidan* 'He bought it for a hundred dirhams save one (i.e., 99 dirhams)'.

Note 1. *illā* 'if not' occurs rarely as a conditional (§452).

Note 2. Occasionally in post-classical usage, the personal suffixes are attached directly to the particle: إِلَّا يَ *illā-ya*, إِلَّا كَ *illā-ka*, etc.

b) In negative sentences, among which may be included interrogative (§335 a) and unreal conditional (§453) sentences, the exception agrees in case with the general term (i.e., that from which the exception is made): ما لنا نَصِيرٌ إِلَّا اللَّهُ *mā lanā nāṣirūn illā 'l-lāhū* 'We have no helper but God', هل رأيْتَ أَحَدًا إِلَّا عَلَيْهِ *hal rā'yata 'ahadā illā 'Alīyan* 'Have you seen anyone but 'Ali?'; لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ *lā ilāha illā 'l-lāhū* 'There is no god other than Allāh' (§318 c), where *lā ilāha* is in the position of a nominative. The exception must be in the accusative, however, if it precedes the general term or is of another species: ما لنا إِلَّا اللَّهُ نَصِيرٌ *mā lanā illā 'l-lāha nāṣirūn* (see

above), *mā ja‘anī ḥadīḥ ḥarā* ما جاءني أحد إلا حارا 'No one came to me but an ass'. Contrary to these rules, the nominative occurs sometimes instead of the accusative.

c) In negative sentences, frequently only the exception is identified, and thus, a positive restriction ('only') is expressed: *mā hādhā illā li-anfusihim* ما هذا إلا لأنفسهم 'This is only for themselves', *lā y’lūm al-fayib ilā hu* لا يعلم الفيپ إلا هو 'Only He knows the concealed'. Personal suffixes used as objects after *illā* must be introduced with *iyyā* (§272): *lā y’abdu ilā iyyāhu* لا يعبدوا إلا إياه 'that they worship only Him'.

d) Subordinate clauses may also follow *illā*: *mā azunnuhū illā qad māta* ما أظنه إلا قد مات 'I can only believe that he died', *lā yalqānī illā wa-sayfi fi yadi* لا يلقاني إلا وسيفي في يدي 'He will not meet me, unless I have my sword in hand' (§409), *lā tasjud illā an takūna ṭahiran* لا تسبح إلا أن تكون طاهرا 'Do not bow down in worship, unless you are pure'. *illā ‘anna* (and *ghayru ‘anna* §311) is used in an adversative sense: *kāna lī ‘bnun illā ‘annahū tuwuffiya* كان لي ابن إلا أنه توقي 'I had a son (except that, i.e.), but he died.'

Note 3. *mā huwa ‘illā* is used to introduce surprising events, e.g.: ما هو إلا *mā huwa ‘illā an ra‘ī fūrifi (حتى عرفني)* ما رأي فعرفني (حتى عرفني) 'He had hardly (no sooner) seen me, when (than) he recognized me'.

§311. *ghayru siwā* غير سوي 'other than, different from' (§325) and the preposition *dūna* (§309 c) also indicate exceptions. They are used either with the genitive or with affixed personal suffixes. The case of *ghayru* is determined according to the rules that hold for substantives after *illā* (§310 a-c): *mā wajadtu ghayraka (siwāka)* ما وجدت غيرك (سواك) 'I found only you', *dhahaba ‘n-nāsu ghayranā* ذهب الناس غيرنا 'The people went away with the exception of us', *man ‘ilāhun ghayru ‘l-lāhi* من إله غير الله '...who is a god other than God ...?' (Koran 6:46; 28:71, 72).

§312. *adā khalā* عدا خلا 'what goes beyond ...' are used like particles of exception. Consistent with their origin

as verbs, the accusative follows: كُلْ شَيْءٍ مَا خَلَّ اللَّهُ بِاطِلٌ *kullu shayin mā khalā 'l-lāha bātilun* ‘Everything but God is vain’. By analogy with سُوَى *siwā* (§311), the genitive may also appear after ‘*adā* and *khalā*.

Note 1. Verbal constructions with relative *mā* are also possible: منع ما عدًا واجبه *manā'a mā 'adā wājibahū* ‘He refused to do whatever exceeded the bounds of his duty’.

Note 2. حاشى *hāshā* ‘far be it!’ (e.g., حاشا لَهُ *hāshā li-llāhi* ‘God forbid!’) is used as a particle of exception like ‘*adā*, *khalā*: حاشى على *hāshā 'Alīyin*, ما حاشى علينا *mā hāshā 'Alīyan* ‘except for Alī’.

§313. إنما *innamā* is an emphatic and restrictive particle ‘only’. While *innamā* stands at the beginning, that which is affected by it is usually, but not always, placed at the end of the sentence for emphasis: إنما هي خرقاء *innamā hiya kharqā'u ḥamqā'u* ‘She is only a slovenly, stupid (woman)’, ... إنما قال ذلك لأن... *innamā qāla dhālikā li-annahū* ... ‘He said that only because ...’; very often adversative ‘but, rather’: إنما هو دينار *innamā huwa dīnārun* ‘It is rather a dinar (not a dirham!)’.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, *innamā* can be understood as *inna* (§339) with relative *mā*: إنما أبلى عظامي جبها *innamā 'ablā iżāmī hubbuħā* ‘What has worn out my bones is (certainly only) my love for her’.

§314. هو إملا رجل *huwa immālā rajulun* ‘That is then at least a man!'; to restrict the imperative with a following *fa-* (§222.3) إملا فابصروا *immālā fa-'bṣirū* ‘At least have patience!‘.

Adverbs

§315. a) Adverbs denoting conditions have developed from various accusative usages into independent terms (§§373 ff.): جدا *jiddan* ‘very’, جميعا *jami'an* ‘altogether’; definite: الْوَيْنَا *(a'l-huwaynā*) ‘leisurely’, البَتَّة *(a'l-battata* ‘absolutely’ (with negatives). Note here also analogical formations like معا *ma'an* ‘together’ (from *ma'a* §298), أولا *awwalan* ‘first’ (§127 b).

Note 1. كثيرا ما *kathīran mā* ‘frequently’, قليلا ما *qalīlan mā* ‘seldom’ with subordinate *mā* are used like *tāla-mā*, *qalla-mā* (§262.1).

b) Terms indicating time in particular appear in the adverbial accusative: يوْمًا *yawman* ‘one day’, لِيَلَّا *laylan* ‘at night’, غَدَاءِ *ghadan* ‘tomorrow’, قَدِمَانِ *qidman* ‘once, in olden times’; definite: الْيَوْمُ *(a)l-yawma* ‘today’, الْبَارِحةُ *(a)l-bārihata* ‘yesterday’; with following genitive: يَوْمَ الْوَغْرَى *yawma 'l-waghā* ‘on the day of the uproar’, لِيَالِيِّ الْعِيدِ *layāliya 'l-idi* ‘in the nights of the festival’, يَوْمَئِذٍ *yawma-idhin* ‘then, on that day’ (§284.2); see also §§346; 420.

Note 2. Adverbial accusative forms are inflected following prepositions: إِلَى الْيَوْمِ *'l-yawmi* بَعْدَ غَدَاءِ *ba'da ghadin* ‘the day after tomorrow’, 'until today'. After *ladun* (§306), the adverb may be uninflected: لِدْنَ غَدْوَةً *ladun ghudwatan* (or *ghudwatin*) ‘from early morning’.

§316. a) Accusative adverbs are often used to bid someone (to do) something (§375): مَهْلًا وَسَهْلًا *mahlan* ‘slowly’ or ‘take it easy!’, أَهْلًا وَسَاهْلًا *sahlan* ‘Welcome!’.

b) Many adverbs used in this manner take the 2nd person suffix: رویدا *ruwaydan* ‘leisurely’, شأنك *ruwaydaka* ‘take it easy!', رویدك *shānaka* ‘It's your business!', i.e., ‘Do as you wish!', شأنكها *shānakahā* ‘Do with her as you wish!' (§271).

§317. Several adverbs have the uninflected ending *-u*: بعد *ba'du* ‘later, afterwards’, تحت *tahtu* ‘beneath’ فوق *fawqu* ‘above’, وراء *warā'u* ‘behind’ على *ahu* ‘above’. These can also be combined with partitive *min* (§299 b); من فوق *min fawqu* ‘(within the space) above’.

Note 1. Diminutives (§81) also figure among the adverbs: قبل *qubaylu* ‘a little before’ from قبل *qablu* ‘earlier, before’.

Note 2. The ending *-u* also appears in لا غير *lā ghayru* ‘nothing else, no more’, فحسب *fa-hasbu* ‘and that's all, only’.

Note 3. See §§284; 288 on demonstrative and interrogative adverbs.

Negation

§318. a) لا *lā* negates the imperfect (§184), the subjunctive (§196), the energetic (§198), the jussive (§195 b), the perfect when it expresses a wish (§182 b), and individual elements of the sentence: رَكِبْتُ بَغْلًا لَا حَمَارًا *rakibtu*

bagħlan lā ħimāran 'I rode a mule, not an ass', فَيْ وَلَا كَمَالُك *fatan wa-lā ka-Mālikin* 'a young man, but not like Mālik'. See §294.4 on بِلَا *bi-lā* 'without'.

Note 1. *lā* is affixed to particles that introduce clauses: أَنْ لَا = أَنْ لَا *lā* 'that not', لَا *illā* < 'in-lā' 'if not' (§§310; 452), لَوْلَا *law-lā* 'if not' (§455), هَلْ لَا *hal-lā* 'is not ... ?, why not?' (§335), كَيْلَا *kay-lā* 'so that not' (§438), كَلَّا *kallā* 'not at all, by no means'.

b) *wa-lā* continues the subsequent negation of sentence elements in a series of negatives. مَعْدِلُ إِنْسَانٍ وَلَا جَنَّا *lam yajid 'insan wa-lā jinnan* 'He found neither men nor ghosts', i.e., 'no one', رَجُلٌ غَيْرُ طَوِيلٍ وَلَا قَصِيرٌ *rajulun ghayru ṭawīlin wa-lā qaṣīrin* 'a man neither tall nor short'. In expressions that consist of several elements, *lā* ... *wa-lā* may be used instead of other negatives in the first element: لَا رَأَى وَلَا سَمِعَ *lā lā raā wa-lā samī'a* 'He neither saw nor heard', لَا هُوَ ذُو مَالٍ وَلَا ذُو عَدْدٍ *lā huwa dhū mālin wa-lā dhū majdīn* 'He is a man of neither wealth nor nobility'.

c) *lā* is used with a directly following accusative in the definite state (§142) as a general denial: شَكَ لَا *shakka lā* 'There is no doubt'. This expression appears mostly in the subject position (§§367.2; 369 b): لَا لَذَاتٍ لِلشَّيْبِ *lā ladhdhātī lish-shībi* 'There is no pleasure for old men'; cf. 310 b.

Note 2. أَبُ *abun* 'father', أَخُ *akhun* 'brother' (§150) appear in the construct state: لَا أَبَابًا لَكَ *lā abābā laka* 'May you have no father!' (also on occasion لَا أَبَاكَ *lā abāka*).

Note 3. According to the rules of the Arab grammarians, the substantive should be in the indefinite state if it occurs in combination with a dependent prepositional phrase: لَا حَاجَةٌ إِلَيْهِ عِنْدَنَا *lā ḥājatān ẓilayhi 'indanā* 'We have no need for him'.

Note 4. When there is more than one element in the negative phrase, the nominative or accusative of the indefinite state may occur in both elements: لَا حَسْنٌ (حَسْنَا) لَهُ وَلَا عَقْلٌ (عَقْلَا) *lā hissā (hissun, hissan) lahū wa-lā 'aqlān ('aqla, 'aqlan)* 'He has neither feeling nor understanding'.

§319. لـ *lam* with the jussive denies that an act has been accomplished or something has become a fact (§194); لـ *lam-mā* negates in a preliminary way ('not yet'): لـ *لما يموت* *lammā yamut* 'He has (had) not yet died'.

Note 1. Instead of *lammā*, *lam* ... *ba-du* (§317) may occur: لـ *لم يمتحن بعد* *lam yamut ba-du* 'He did not die — only later, i.e., not yet'.

§320. لـ *lan* (< **lā-*'*an*) with the subjunctive negates a future action (§196 c): لـ *لن ينجحوا* *lan yunjihū* 'They will not succeed'.

§321. ما *mā* is always at the beginning of the sentence. Unlike *lam* and *lā*, *mā* with the perfect denies the whole fact; with the imperfect, the action or its possibility: ما جعت *mā ju'tu* 'I am not (did not become) hungry' (cf. §189), ما يراك *mā yarāka* 'He does not see you at all, cannot see you'.

Note 1. Typically, *mā* is used after particles expressing oaths and in sentences containing the particle of exception *'illā* (§310).

Note 2. See §367 a for *mā* used to negate nominal sentences.

§322. إن أدرى *in*, إِنْ *adrī* (§52.1) is functionally equivalent to *mā*: إِنْ أَدْرِي *in* 'I do not know', إِنْ إِنْ الحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ *in-i l-hukmu illā li-lhāhi* (Koran 6:57; 12:40, 67) 'Judgment is God's alone'. This negative particle may be combined with *mā*: ما إِنْ جزعت *mā in jazītu* 'I am not at all worried'.

§323. a) لـ *laysa* is an inflected negative (§209) and is used chiefly to negate nominal sentences (§367 a). The predicate is in the accusative or is introduced by *bi-* (§294 d): لـ *lastu bakhīlān* or لـ *lastu bi-bakhīlin* 'I am not miserly'. Verbal predicates may also occur: نصل إِلَيْكَ *lasnā naṣīlu ẓilayka* 'We do not come to you' (§§431 f.).

Note 1. أليس *a-laysa* (§335) 'is not?' often introduces negative interrogative sentences: ألسْتَ أَعْطَيْتَكَ *a-lastu aṭaytuka* 'Did I not give you?'.¹

Note 2. *laysa* may occur in combination with *kāna* when it indicates the past (§190): كـانـ لـ *laysa bi-bakhīlin* 'He was not miserly'.

b) Uninflected *laysa* negates single elements of the sentence: ليس عن هذا *laysa an hādhā nasaluka* 'We are not asking you about that', ليس أنا قاتلهم *laysa anā qataltuhum* 'It was not I who killed them'.

In non-classical usage, it also occurs with verbs: ليس نقبل *laysa naqbalu* 'We do not accept'.

§324. لات *lāta* 'it is not' is used sporadically in pre-classical Arabic as a negative: لات حين مناص *lāta hīna manāṣin* (Koran 38:3) 'But the time is none to escape', لات هنّا *lāta hanā* 'That is not so'.

§325. a) غير *ghayru* and سوى *siwā* 'other than, different from' exclude following substantives in the genitive, personal suffixes, or adjectives: زينب وغيرها من النساء *Zaynabu wa-ghayruhā min-a 'n-nisā'i* 'Zaynab and other (than her from among the) women', توكّل إلى غيرك *natawakkalu 'ilā ghayrika* 'We place our trust in someone other than you', غير أحد *ghayru 'ahadin* 'not one, i.e., more than one, several', غير مرّة *ghayru marratin* 'not once, i.e., several times' (§315).

b) *ghayru* negates a nominal predicate and attributive: إتها غير ملومة *innahā ghayru malūmatin* 'She is not blameworthy', رجل غير ملوم *rajulun ghayru malūmin* 'a man who is not reprehensible'. When there is more than one element to negate, *lā ... wa-lā* may occur instead of *ghayru ... wa-lā* (§318 b): رجل لا طويل ولا قصير *rajulun lā ṭawīlun wa-lā qaṣīrun* 'a man neither tall nor short'.

Note 1 In post-classical usage, *ghayru* in constructions with attributives may take the article: (الأشياء الغير الثابتة) *a) l-ashyā'u 'l-ghayru 'th-thābi-tati* 'the impermanent things' (§398.1).

Note 2. بغير *bi-ghayri* (§294.4), من غير *min ghayri* (§299.3) 'without' may also be continued by *lā*: من غير أب ولا أم *min ghayri 'abbin wa-lā 'ummin* 'without father or mother'.

Note 3. For *ghayru* used as a particle of exception, see §311; *ghayru mā*, §285 c; *lā ghayru*, §317.2.

§326. بل *bal* '(no) rather, on the contrary' counters a preceding proposition and introduces a correction or confirmation: أعطاني درهما بل درهرين *aqṭānī dirhaman bal dirhamayni* 'He gave me a dirham, no, rather, two dirhams', ما أقمنا هناك يوما بل شهرا *mā 'aqamnā hunāka yaumā bal shahran* 'We so-journed there not just a day, but a month'.

Note 1. Introducing an answer to a double question (§333): قال أذكر أم أنتي فقلت بل أنتي *qāla 'a-dhakarun 'am 'unthā fa-qultu bal 'unthā* ‘He said, male or female? I then answered, but female (i.e., not male, but female)’.

§327. Peculiarities in the use of negatives:

- a) Negative particles sometimes become redundant: لم أسمع بثلك لا *lam 'asma'u bi-mithlika lā hilman wa-lā jūdan* ‘I have never heard from anyone like you about gentleness or generosity’. Negation in main and secondary clauses comes to mean affirmation: لم نأمن أن لا نجد *lam na'man 'an lā najida 'amnan* ‘We were (not) certain that we would (not) find security’.
- b) A negative declaration is produced in pre-classical Arabic after an oath without the use of a negative: بالله أفعل *bi-'l-lāhi 'af'alū* ‘By God, I would not do that’.

Coordinating Conjunctions

§328. a) و *wa-* (§23) joins equivalent sentences and clauses (§§401; 404 ff.). Frequently *wa-* connects the statement to the context (§276.1) or given situation, e.g., when a question is offered in reply to another: أؤانت تكذبني *'a-wa-'anta tukadhdhibuni* ‘Are you calling me a liar?’.

Note 1. *wa-* introduces coordinated circumstantial clauses (§§407 ff.); with the subjunctive, see §410.1; with the particle expressing oaths with the genitive, §294.2; before a genitive introducing a condition, §389.

b) و *wa-* ‘with’ and the accusative following joins a substantive to the subject, less frequently to an object, in a verbal sentence. The personal pronoun is introduced by *iyyā-* (§272) after *wa-*: كان وأباه على ما قد علمنا *kāna wa-abāhu 'alā mā qad 'alimnā* ‘He was (i.e., stood) with his father as far as we know’, ما صنعت وإيه *mā ṣana'ta wa-iyyāhu* ‘What have you done with him?’, سرنا والنيل *sirnā wa-'n-Nīlā* ‘We traveled with the Nile, i.e., along the Nile’, دعنا وأمرنا *da'nā wa-'amranā* ‘Let us alone with our business!’.

Note 2. The Arab grammarians call this *wa-* with accusative *wāw al-ma'iyyah*, “*wa-* meaning *ma'a*”.

Note 3. *wa-* with the accusative does not occur in nominal sentences: أنت وأبوك على ما نعلم *anta wa-abūka 'alā mā na'lamu* ‘you and your father are in such a relationship, as far as we know’. Yet the accusative may be used after *wa-* in certain nominal phrases: أنت وذاك *anta wa-dhāka* ‘you and that!’, i.e., ‘It is your thing!’, مَا أَنَا وَالْأُمْر *mā anā wa-l-amrā* ‘What do I have to do with this affair?’, إِيَّاكَ وَالْحَيَّةِ *iyyāka wa-l-hayyata* ‘Watch out for the snake!’ (§272.2), شَانِكُمْ وَالرَّحِيلِ *shānakum wa-'r-rahīlā* ‘You may leave at your discretion’ (§316 b).

§329. ف *fa-* ‘and then, and so, and consequently, for’ (§23) indicates a sequence: تغتسل فتظهر ثوبك *tagħtasilu fa-tuṭahhiru thawbayka* ‘You are to wash yourself and then to clean both your garments’, جاءوا واحدا فواحدا *jājū wāħidān fa-wāħidān* ‘They came one after the other’, من الآن فصاعدا *min-a 'l-āna fa-ṣā'ida* ‘From now on and beyond’; it designates what follows as a result of the preceding statement: ضربته فبكى *darabtu-hū fa-bakā* ‘I struck him so he cried’; cf. §402.1.

Note 1. On *fa-* after *'ammā*, see §336; *fa-* introducing the apodosis, §§447; 443.1; *fa-'inna-* ‘then’, §404 b; *fa-* with the subjunctive, §410; with the imperative, §222.3.

Note 2. In poetry, places are presented in sequence by *fa-*: غشيت ديارا بالبقاء فثمد *qħashitu diyāra bi-'l-Baqī'i fa-Thahmadin* ‘I came to dwellings in al-Baqī‘ and then in Thahmad’.

Note 3. After verbs expressing commands, decisions, and the like, the clause containing the statement of resulting action begins with *fa-*: أمر بالباب فأغلق *amara bi-'l-bābi fa-ugħliqa* ‘He commanded the door to be closed’, بدا له فابتني مسجدا *badā lahū fa-'btanā masjidān* ‘It came into his mind to build a mosque’ (cf. §359).

Note 4. *fa-* links the verb to a verbal complement: سكت سكتة فأطألاها *sakata saktatān fa-ἀَتَالَاهَا* ‘He was completely silent and was so for a long time’, تكلم الناس فأكثروا *takallama 'n-nāsu fa-aktharū* ‘The people spoke and did so at length’.

§330. ثم *thumma* 'then, thereupon, next, furthermore' joins both sentences and words: إِنَّهُ أَقَامَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا ثُمَّ طَلَقَهَا *innahū 'aqāma 'alā dhālikā 'arba'īn yawman thumma tallaqahā* 'He passed forty days in this way, then he granted her the divorce'; sometimes in an intensifying sense: قد جربوني ثم جربوني *qad jarra'būni thumma jarra'būni* 'They tested me, and then they tested me some more'. Sometimes *thumma* indicates transition from general to specific: جاءَنَا فَتِي مِنْ قَرِيشٍ ثُمَّ أَحَدُ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ *jā'anā fatan min Qurayshin thumma 'ahadu banī 'Abdi 'l-Muṭṭalibī* 'A young man came to us from the Quraysh, in fact, one of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib'.

Note 1. An alternative form, ثُمَّتْ *thummata*, also occurs.

§331. رَمَى بِسَهْمٍ أَوْ سَهْمَيْنِ *ramā bi-sahmin 'aw sahmayni* 'He shot an arrow or two'.

Note 1. See §411 for *'aw* with the subjunctive; in disjunctive conditional clauses, §459 a; cf. also §§308 d; 333.1.

§332. إن *in* and إِمَّا *immā* (§459) are used to express alternatives: إِمَّا ... *wa-immā*, إِمَّا ... *'aw*, and less often إِنْتِي رَجُلٌ إِمَّا ... *wa-in*, إِمَّا ... *'aw* 'either ... or', e.g., *in ... wa-in ... 'aw* 'either ... or ... and ... or'. إِمَّا ... *immā* *rahmūdun wa-immā dhamūmun* 'I am a man who is either praiseworthy or blameworthy'.

§333. أَم *'am* 'or' in questions offering a choice: أَم ... *'am*, on occasion أَذْكُرُ أَمْ مَنْ عَنْدَكَ أَمْ مَنْ عَنْدَ اللَّهِ *hal ... 'am* (§335), e.g., *a-dhālikā min 'indaka 'am min 'indi 'l-lāhi* 'Does this come from you or from God?'. The interrogative particle may be lacking following another question or in indirect questions: لَا أَدْرِي خَرَجَ إِلَيْمَ أَمْ لَا 'I do not know, did he depart in their direction, or not?'. The alternative question may come after the statement: صَدِقْتَ أَمْ أَنَا مُخْطَئٌ *sadaqta 'am 'anā mukhtirun* 'You have spoken the truth, or am I in error?'.

Note 1. *'aw* is on occasion used in alternative questions: أَعْرِقْتَ أَنْتَ أَمْ مَوْلِي *a-'arabiyyun 'anta 'aw mawlan* 'Are you an Arab or a client?'.

Note 2. On *'am* in disjunctive conditional clauses, see §459.1.

Particles Introducing the Main Clause

§334. لـ *la-* (§§22; 23) ‘truly, verily’ confirms a statement and, as a rule, marks the beginning of a sentence; and almost always it occurs with an elative in the predicate position: لـ الموت خير من حياة على غمض *lal-mawtu khayrun min hayātin 'alā qhamdin* ‘Death is truly better than life in gloom’; cf. also §198. In conditional clauses, *la-* may come before the protasis and apodosis (*la->in . . . la-* and *law . . . la-* §447 b). On *la-* after *'inna*, see §339 b.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, *la-* sometimes is used with *mā* (§285 c): أـ *lamā*, *lammā* (§339.2). The latter is used, for example, to introduce oaths: أقسم عليك لـ *uqsimu 'alayka lammā fa-alta dhālika* ‘I beseech you, truly, not to do this!’ (§456.1).

§335. a) أـ *'a-* (§41 c) and هل *hal* begin interrogative sentences. *'a-* is used mainly when the question is left open, and *hal* is used mostly when a negative answer is anticipated and when the question is rhetorical: أـ *alimta 'anni qad 'aslantu* ‘Do you know that I have become a Muslim?’, هل تذكرني *hal tadhkuruni* ‘Then do you remember me?’; Sentences introduced with *hal* are treated like negated sentences (§§294 d; 299 b; 310 b). See §333 on alternative questions.

Note 1. *'a-* comes before *wa-*, *fa-*, *thumma* (§§328 ff.); *hal* comes after. — On هل لك في *hal laka fī . . .*, see §296.3.

Note 2. *'a-* sometimes is lacking: معكم منه شيء *ma'akum minhu shay'un* ‘Do you have any of it with you?’.

b) Negative particles follow immediately after *'a-* and *hal*: أـ *'a-lā*, أـ *'a-mā*, أـ *'a-laysa* (§323.1), فهـ لـ *fa-hal-lā tashkuru li* ‘Why would you not then give me thanks?’; often as an exclamation: أـ *'a-lā 'arsalta 'ilayya* ‘Why have you not sent [it] to me?!’. — On أـ *'alā*, أـ *amā* as interjections, see §347.

Note 3. أـ *'a-lā tarā 'anna* ‘Do you not see that’ presents a confirmation: ‘After all, it is true that . . . , Certainly, . . . ’.

§336. أَمَّا *ammā* 'as for, regarding' with a nominative following as a subject of a copulative sentence (§§368 ff.). The predicate clause is always joined with *fa-* (§329): أَمَّا أخْوَكَ فَاعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ قَدْ مَاتَ *ammā akhūka fa-lam annahū qad māta* 'As for your brother, know that he has died'. Adverbial sentence elements and clauses may be set apart by *ammā:* أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَ *ammā ba'du fa-* ... 'Now then on to ...' (a formula for introducing the main topic).

§337. رَبْ *rubba* 'many a' with the indefinite genitive following (§389) is mostly the subject of a copulative sentence (§§389 ff.): رَبْ رَجُلٍ كَرِيمٍ قَدْ لَقِيْتُ *rubba rajulin karīmin qad laqītu* 'Many a noble man have I met'.

Note 1. Often *yā* (§347) is used before *rubba*.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the feminine رَبْتُ *rubbata* appears on rare occasion. Sometimes, *rubba*, *rubbata* occur in combination with *mā* (§285 c): رَبَّتِمَا غَارَةً *rubbata-mā ghāratin* 'Many a raid'.

Note 3. رَبْ *rubba-mā* (with subordinating *mā* §416) 'many a time, sometimes, perhaps': رَبَّهَا أَكْفَ يَدِي عَنْكُمْ *rubba-mā akuffu yadi ankum* 'Sometimes I restrained my hand from (striking) you'.

§338. After the particles لَيْتَ *layta*, لَعْلَى *la'allā*, لَكَنْ *lakinna*, إِنْ *inna*, the subject of a nominal or copulative sentence (§§360 ff.; 368 ff.) in the accusative or a personal suffix (§268.1) follows. If the subject does not immediately follow, the 3rd masc. personal suffix appears as the "pronoun of the fact" *damīr ash-shān* and represents or anticipates the subject: إِنَّهُ لَا يَفْلُحُ الْمُجْرِمُونَ *innahū lā yuflihu 'l-mujrimūna* (Koran 10:17) 'Surely the sinners do not prosper'.

Note 1. أَنْ *anna* (§415) 'that', the subordinate clause particle corresponding to *inna*, is also followed by the accusative.

Note 2. *inna* and *lakinna* with the suffixes of the 1st person (-*nī*, -*nā*) are frequently shortened (§49 c): إِنِّي *inna-nī* = إِنِّي *inna-nā*; لَكَنِّي *lakinna-nī* = لَكَنِّي *lakinna-nā*. In combination with *la'allā*, the 1st person suffix -*nī* occurs in place of -*nī*: لَعْلَنِي *la'allā-nī* rather than *la'allā-nī*.

§339. a) إِنْ (إن) *inna* in the meaning ‘verily, truly’ indicates that the following statement is remarkable: إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ *inna 'l-lāha 'alā kulli shay'in qadirun* (Koran 2:20, 106, 109, etc.) ‘Truly, God is powerful over everything’. According to nominal sentence word order (§366), a prepositional phrase as predicate appears between *'inna* and the accusative: إِنْ فِي الْقَلْعَةِ سُجِنًا *inna fī 'l-qal'ati sijnan* ‘Surely, in the fortress is a prison’.

Note 1. إِنَّمَا *inna-mā* has a restrictive sense (§313).

b) The predicate after *'inna* is often marked by *la-* (§334): إِنِّي بِكَ لَعَارِفٌ *innī bika la-'ārifun* ‘I know you’. When the word order is predicate–subject (§366), *la-* may also come before the subject: إِنْ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعْرَةٌ *inna fī dhālikā la-'ibratan* (Koran 3:13; 24:44; 79:26) ‘Surely, in that is a lesson’.

Note 2. The closely related pre-classical particle إن *in* is not followed by the accusative, and the predicate is often marked by *la-* (§334.1): إِنْ كَادَتْ *in kādat* *la-taqtalunī* ‘She had nearly killed me’, والَّهُ إِنْ كَانَ لَبِدَنَا *wa-'l-lāhi in kāna la-bādīnā* ‘By God, he was corpulent’, إِنْ كُلَّ نَفْسٍ لَا *in kullu nafsin lamā* (*lammā*) *·alayhā hāfiżun* (Koran 86:4) ‘Over every soul there is a watcher’, which could also be interpreted as ‘There is not any soul, but a watcher is above it’.

§340. ولكن كثيراً منهم فاسقون *lākinna*, ولكن *wa-lākinna* ‘but, yet’: ولكن كثيراً منهم فاسقون *lākinna kathīran minhum fāsiqūna* (Koran 5:81) ‘But many of them are ungodly’. If no substantive or personal suffix follows, (و) ولكن *(wa-) lākin* or (و) ولكنما *(wa-) lākinna-mā* (§416) occurs: ولكن ضربته *lākin ḍarabtahū* ‘But you struck him’.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the subject in the nominative may follow *lākin* (cf. §339.2).

§341. ليت *layta* ‘if only, would that’, frequently with يا *yā* or ألا *·alā* (§347), introduces a sentence expressing a wish: ليتني بعيد عنك *laytanī ba'īdūn ·anka* ‘If only I were far from you!’, يا ليته لم يفعل *yā laytahū lam yafal* ‘If only he had not done it!’. Rather than the accusative, a clause introduced by *'anna* (§415) may follow: ليت أنه شاعر *layta 'annahū shā'irun* ‘Would that he were a poet!’.

Note 1. The predicate appears on occasion as a predicate accusative (§§381 f.): لَيْتْ زَيْدًا شَاهِقًا *layta Zaydan shāhiṣan* ‘If only Zayd would start out!‘.

§342. لَعَلَّ *la'alla* ‘perhaps’ (§338.2): لَعَلَّهَا سَتَرْحَمُنِي *la'allahā sa-tarhamunī* ‘Perhaps she will take pity on me’. Verbal predicate clauses are often introduced by أَنْ *'an* ‘that’ (§414): لَعَلَّ صَاحِبَنَا أَنْ يَمْلِكَ *la'alla ṣāhibanā 'an yahlikā* ‘Perhaps our companion has perished’.

Note 1. *la-* (§334) has become an inseparable component of *la'alla*. The form *'alla* without *la-* does occur in pre-classical Arabic.

Note 2. Verbal عَسَى *asā* ‘it could be’ (with أَنْ *'an* ‘that’) is occasionally treated like a particle and appears with the personal suffixes: عَسَاهُ الَّذِي يُسَمِّيهُ الْأَرَبُ سُولَانٌ *asāhu 'lladhi yusammīhi 'l-'arabu sūlān* ‘Perhaps this is what the Arabs call Sūlān’.

Subordinating Conjunctions

§343. a) For conditional particles: إِنْ *'in*, إِنَّا *imma*, لَوْ *law* ‘if’, see §§450ff.

b) Temporal particles: إِذْ *'idh*, إِذَا *'idhā* (§280) ‘if, when’, لَمْ *lammā* ‘when, after’, مَا *mā* ‘as long as’; see §§442 f.; 462; 464.

Note 1. *mā* is often added to *'idhā*, and *'an* is often added to *lammā*: إِذَا *'idhā-mā* ‘if, when’ (§465), لَمْ كَا أَنْ *lammā 'an* ‘after, when’.

§344. أَنْ *'an* (§196 b), أَنَّا *'anna* (§338.1) ‘that’ and subordinating ما *mā* ‘the fact that’ introduce subordinate clauses which occupy the position of substantives in the sentence; see §§414 ff. These particles make subordinate clauses dependent on prepositions and adverbs: بِأَنْ *bi-'an* ‘by (followed by a gerund), by means of the fact that ...’, إِلَى أَنْ *'ilā 'an* ‘until, up to the point that’, مَعَ أَنْ *ma'a 'an* ‘although’, لَأَنْ *li-'anna* ‘because’, كَأَنْ *ka-'an* ‘as if, as though’, كَمَا *ka-mā* ‘as’, فِيمَا *fī-mā* ‘during, while’, بَعْدَمَا *bayna-mā* > بَيْنَا *baynā* ‘during, while’ (§49.1), بَعْدَمَا *ba-da-mā*, قَبْلَمَا *qabla 'an* ‘after’, قَبْلَ أَنْ *qabla mā* ‘before’ (§346.1), كَمَا *kulla-mā* ‘whenever’, the more ..., أَقْلَمَا *'awwala mā* ‘the moment when, just when’, etc.

Note 1. Subordinating *mā* often occurs instead of a substantive which would be dependent on a particle introducing the clause: *rubba-mā* (§337.3), *lākinna-mā* (§340), rarely also *layta-mā* (341), *la^wallā-mā* (§342); also at times *mā* is joined to 'anna and *ka*-'anna': *لَمْ يَأْنَى لَهُ أَنْنَى مَا* 'that', *كَمْ يَأْنَى لَهُ أَنْنَى مَا* 'as if'.

Note 2. A clause introduced with '*idh*' (§343 b) may also be dependent on *ba^wda* 'after': *بَعْدَ إِذْ* *ba^wda idh* 'after'.

§345. The following may function sometimes as prepositions and at other times as conjunctions: *لِـ li-* 'so that, in order to' (§§196 b; 295), *حتى hattā* 'until, so that' (§§196 b; 304), *منذ mundhu* *مِنْ* *مُدْ* *mundhu* 'since' (§300), *لَدُنْ ladun*, *مِنْ لَدُنْ min ladun* 'since' (§306). The following are used only as conjunctions: *كَـيـ kay*, *لَـكـ li-kay* 'so that, in order to' (§196 b), *حيثـ haythu* 'where, inasmuch as' (§441).

Note 1. These conjunctions sometimes occur in constructions with 'an or *mā*: *كِـيـمـا min ladun an*, *مِـنـ أـنـ* *مِـنـدـ أـنـ* *mudhu an*, *كِـيـمـا kay-mā*, *كِـيـمـا li-kay-mā*.

Note 2. Interrogative particles used as relatives may also begin subordinate clauses: *kayfa*, 'ayna, *matā* (§289).

§346. Substantives expressing time in the adverbial accusative (§315 b) may be followed by a dependent clause in the role of a genitive (§420): *عِـنـ hīna* 'at the time when', *يَوْمـ yawma* 'on the day when', *لَيَالـ layāliya* 'on the nights when', *رَيْثـ raytha* 'while', etc.

Note 1. In post-classical Arabic, *mā* frequently occurs with these adverbs: *عِـنـما hīna-mā*, *رَبِـثـما raytha-mā*. On the other hand, *qabla*, instead of *qabla-mā* 'before' (§344), sometimes behaves like a conjunction: *قَـبـلـ أـسـافـرـ qabla usāfiru* 'before I travel'.

Note 2. After the preposition 'alā (§302.1), *hīna* may be uninflected: *عِـنـ alā hīna* or *عِـنـ alā hīni*.

Vocative Particles (Interjections)

§347. *يا ya* 'O, oh' (vocative §§157 ff.; imperative §221.1; cf. §§263; 337; 341) — *وا wā* 'oh, ah' (§158) — *ها hā* 'ha, oh' (cf. §279 b); as oath particles:

هَا اللَّهُ *hā 'l-lāhi* 'O God!' (§294.2) — أَيْتَ يَا أَيْتَ *ayyuhā*, يَا أَيْتَ *yā ayyuhā* 'O' (vocative §157) — أَيْتَ *a, ayā* 'ah, oh' (vocative §157.4) — أَلَا *alā*, أَمَا *amā* 'oh no, ah, ah yes' (§335 b): أَلَا لِيْتْ شَعْرِيْ *alā layta shi'rī* 'Ah, if I only knew!' (§341).

Note 1. يَا لِ — *yā la-* with the genitive is used to call out or call for help: يَا لِرِجَالٍ *yā lar-rijāli* 'O men (come)!'; يَا لِتَمِيمٍ *yā lar-rijāli* 'O men (come)!'; (Note the orthography!) يَا لِتَمِيمٍ *yā Tamīmin* 'O you Tamim, (help)!'; يَا لِلْعَدُوِّ *yā la-llāhi lil-adūwi* 'O God, (help us) against the enemy!'; with personal suffixes referring to the one called and the indefinite accusative or *min* (§299.4) as an interjection of astonishment: يَا لِهِ مِنْ رَجُلٍ *yā lahū min rajulin* (or *rajulan*) 'O, what a man!', يَا لِكِ مِنْ لَيْلَةٍ *yā laki min laylati* 'O, what a night!'.¹

§348. Interjections bemoaning misfortune: وَيْ *way* 'woe'; mostly with *la-* and personal suffixes: وَيْلِيْ *waylī* 'woe is me!', وَيْلَكِ *waylaka* 'woe to you!' (see also *waylun* §350; *waylummi* §349.1) — وَيْلَهُ *wayha* with the genitive or personal suffixes: وَيْلَهَاتِ *wayhanā* 'woe to us!' — هَيَّاهَا *hayhāta/i/u* (§53.2) 'far from it!'.²

§349. Several interjections take on the inflection of the imperative or the endings of the 2nd pers. personal pronoun: تَعَالَى *ta·āla* 'Come on!', fem. تَعَالِي *ta·ālay*, dual تَعَالَيَاتِ *ta·ālayā*, masc. pl. تَعَالَيَاتِ *ta·ālaw*, fem. تَعَالَيَاتِ *ta·ālayna*. — هَاتِ *hāti* 'Give here!', fem. هَاتِي *hātī*, dual هَاتِيَاتِ *hātīyā*, masc. pl. هَاتِي *hātū*, fem. هَاتِيَنَ *hātīna*. هَاكِ *hāka* 'Here, take it!', هَاكِهَا *hākahā* 'Take her, you've got her!', fem. هَاكِ *hāki*, dual هَاكِمَا *hākumā*, masc. pl. هَاكِمُ *hākum*, fem. هَاكِنَ *hākunna*. هَاءِ *hā'a* 'Take!', fem. هَاءِ *hā'i*, dual هَاءِمَا *hārumā*, masc. pl. هَاءِمُ *hārum*, fem. هَاءِنَّا *hārunna*, or with the imperative inflection: masc. sing. هَأْ *hā'*, fem. هَاءِ *hā'i*, fem. هَائِي *hātī*, dual هَائِيَاتِ *hātīyā*, masc. pl. هَائِيَنَ *hātīna*, fem. هَائِيَنَ *hātīnā*. هَلْمَ *halumma* 'Get up, forward, come on!' (with accusative 'bring here!'), fem. هَلْمِي *halummi*, dual هَلْمَاتِ *halummā*, masc. pl. هَلْمُونَ *halummū*, fem. هَلْمُونَ *halumna*.

Note 1. Uninflected *-umm* also appears in the interjection أَللَّهُمَّ *al-lāhumma* 'O God!' and in وَيْلَهُ *al-lāhumma*; with the 3rd person suffix and indefinite accusative (§384) as an interjection expressing horror or wonder: وَيْلَهُ مَا *halumma* 'What a horrible war!', وَيْلَهُ مَا *halumma* 'What a wonderful possession!'.³

Particles as Substantives

§350. Particles may be treated like substantives (on gender, see §112). As such, either they are cited without modification or they take nominal inflectional endings: ماضی یوم بليت ولو آنی *maḍā yawmun bi-layta wa-law ʽannī* ‘A day passed with an “Oh would that” and an “If only I”; in poetry, they are inflected: ما ليت بنافعه *mā laytun bi-nāfi‘atin* ‘An “if only” is of no use’. ويل *waylun* ‘woe, affliction’, ويلة *waylatun* ‘an expression of woe’ are formed from *wayla-* (§348). From these derive adverbial accusative *waylan* ‘Woe!’, ويل لك *waylan laka* ‘Woe to you!’

Syntax

Syntax: Sentences

Subject and Predicate

§351. Classical Arabic has three kinds of sentences:

- a) Verbal sentence: The predicate is a verb. The word order is predicate–subject (§§355 ff.).
- b) Nominal sentence: The predicate is a noun or a pronoun. The word order is subject–predicate or predicate–subject (§§360 ff.).
- c) Compound sentence: The predicate is a verbal or nominal clause connected to the subject by a copulative pronoun (personal pronoun or suffix, subject pronoun incorporated into the verb). The subject comes at the beginning of the sentence (§§368 ff.)

Note 1. Prepositional phrases sometimes function as sentences; see §§294.5; 302.3; 303.4; 309.1. Interrogative particles also occur in such uses: أَيْنَ يُكَيِّفُ لِي بِهِ 'How can I get in touch with him?', Where can one meet you?', ... هلْ تَكُوْنُ فِي 'Do you feel a desire to? ...' (§296.3).

§352. a) The subject is in the nominative. It is a substantive or a pronoun. Non-substantive nominal forms like adjectives and numbers function as substantives when in the subject position: جاءَ مِنْهُمْ ثَلَاثَةٌ 'three of them came'. In addition, non-substantive nominal forms like numbers, *kullun* (§136), *ghayru-* (§325) and other similar forms, as well as those prepositions which may serve as substantives like *ka-* (§297 b) and *min* (§299 b) in constructions with the dependent genitive, may also be used as subjects: جاءَ فِي كَيْدِي كَأَشْفَطَ 'There is something (burning) like oil in my liver', ... 'Someone other than you came'. Relative clauses and substantive clauses (§§414 ff.; 421 ff.) may also appear in subject position.

Note 1. The pronominal subject is incorporated in the verb (§355).

Note 2. After the introductory particles mentioned in §§338 ff., the subject is in the accusative. After *rubba* (§337) and other particles, the subject is in the introductory genitive (§389).

b) As a rule the predicate agrees with the subject in gender. Terms that refer to persons agree *ad sensum* also in number. Nominal predicates follow essentially the same rules of agreement as attributes (§§113 f.; 362). Terms that indicate quantity not infrequently agree *ad sensum* rather than grammatically (§§353 f.). See §§356 f. on the details of verbal predicate agreement.

§353. Terms indicating totality (§§136 ff.) and words like 'ayyu- (§286), *ghayru-* (§325), *mithlu* (§297 c) and other similar terms with the genitive following are considered masc. sing.: 'كُلُّنَا قَتَلْنَا' 'All of us killed him', 'كُلُّهُمْ شَاعِرٌ' 'They are all poets'. Yet, often the predicate agrees with the genitive *ad sensum*: 'أُجُبُّ بُشْرَى أَشْتَى' 'What good news reached me?', 'كُلُّهُمْ سَيْفَقْبَصُونَ' 'All of them will be angry'.

Note 1. Similarly, when *ka-* and *min* function as substantives (§352), the agreement is with the word in the genitive: 'مَا حَتَّلَتْ مِنْ نَاقَةً' 'No camel carried anything' (§299 b).

§354. The numbers from 3 to 10 are treated like feminine plurals, if the objects to which they refer are things: 'When لَلَّاثُ لَيَالٍ خَلَوْنَ مِنْ رَجِبٍ' 'Three nights of the month of Rajab have passed' (§295.1), 'لَلَّاثُ لَا يُبَدَّ مِنْهُنَّ' 'Three (things) are unavoidable'. Numbers over 10 in such cases are treated like feminine singulars: 'لَأَرْبَعَ عَشَرَةَ لَيَةَ بَقِيَّتْ مِنْ رَمَضَانَ' 'When 14 nights in Ramadan remained' (i.e., on the 16th of Ramadan). Numbers referring to persons have predicates *ad sensum* in the masculine or feminine plural: 'هُؤُلَاءِ أَثْنَا عَشَرَ رَجُلًا' 'Four (people) came up to him', 'أَرْبَعَةَ قَامُوا إِلَيْهِ' 'These are 12 men'. Cf. §399.

Note 1. *Ad sensum* agreement may occur even when a verbal predicate comes first (§356): 'كَمَا شَوَّا إِلَيْهِ ثَلَاثَهُمْ' 'Three of them went to him'.

Note 2. Numbers in the abstract are feminine singular: 'الشَّبَّعَةُ تُعْجِزُ عَنِ' 'Seven is one short of eight'; in post-classical Arabic, however, it is usually masculine singular: 'سَبْعَةُ نَاقْصٍ ثَلَاثَةٌ يُسَاوِي أَرْبَعَةَ' 'Seven minus three is four' (§129.5).

Verbal Sentences

§355. The pronominal subject is incorporated in the verb: لَعَبَ ‘He played’, يَلْعَبُ ‘He plays’. The substantive subject follows the 3rd person masculine or feminine singular (§356); likewise, a personal pronoun follows the verb for emphasis (§266). Other sentence elements may intervene between the verb and subject: إِنْهَا إِلَى الْخَلِيفَةِ أَخْبَرَ ‘The news reached the Caliph’. If the subject has more than one verbal predicate, the subject comes after the first verb: صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ‘May God bless him and grant him salvation’.

Note 1. When the subject is placed before the verbal predicate, the sentence is considered compound (§368 ff.).

Note 2. See §§318–323 on the negation of verbal predicates.

§356. Agreement between verbal predicate and subject:

a) The 3rd masculine singular of the verb comes before masculine subjects, regardless of whether it is sing., dual, or plural: جَاءَ سَارِقٌ ‘A thief came’, جَاءَ سَارِقُوْنَ ‘Two thieves came’, ثَيْرَةٌ ‘Thieves came’. Frequently, the 3rd masc. sing. also precedes feminine subjects (sing. or plural), especially if other sentence elements intervene between subject and predicate: أَتَى آلَفَاضِي رِسَالَةً ‘A message came to the judge’, تَغَيَّرَ الْأَمْوَرُ ‘The circumstances changed’.

b) The 3rd fem. sing. usually precedes feminine subjects (§§110 ff.); the 3rd masc. sing. may appear instead, except before sing. terms that refer to female persons and the fem. dual: جَاءَتْ سَارِقَةٌ ‘A thief (fem.) came’, جَاءَتْ سَارِقَاتٍ ‘Two thieves (fem.) came’.

Note 1. Before the names of clans (§86 b), including those consisting of بنو *banū* ‘sons of ...’ (§385.3), the predicate is usually in the 3rd. fem. sing.: قَالَتِ آئِبُودُ ‘The Jews said’.

Note 2. Agreement *ad sensum* in number in verbal sentences is attested only exceptionally: إِنْهَرَتَا غَيْنَاهُ ‘Both his eyes turned red’.

§357. Agreement of a succeeding verbal predicate with a subject already mentioned in the sentence is strict, and agreement in number is, as a rule, *ad sensum* with terms referring to persons (cf. §114): جَاءَ زَيْدٌ وَأَبُوهُ فَقَالَ

'Zayd and his father came, and then they said', **كَانَ الَّذِينَ يَقُولُونَ** 'The people used to say', **بَكَتِ النِّسَوَةُ وَعَوَلَنَ** 'The women cried and wailed'; but also **سَمِعَتْ قَرِيْشٌ فَغَضِبَتْ** 'The Quraysh (§86 b) heard (it) and became angry'.

Note 1. After place names, the inhabitants are frequently referred to without explicitly naming them: **أَتَى الْيَمَنَ فَخَارَبُوهُ** 'He came to the Yemen and there they (i.e., the Yemenis) fought with him'; also outside the subject-predicate context: **نَزَلَ عِصْنِ حَوَافِيْ قَاتَلُهُمْ**: 'He stopped at the fortress of Huwāthā and fought them (the garrison)'.

§358. An unspecified subject may be expressed—more frequently than by such terms as **إِمْرُوْ رَجُلٌ** 'man', **أَحَدٌ** 'one', among others—in the following ways:

a) With the 2nd masc. sing. (less often the plural): **تَخَالُ** 'You think', i.e., 'It is thought, one thinks, they think'; with the 3rd masc. plural: **سَمِعُوا صَوْنًا** 'They heard, i.e., one heard a voice'; sometimes with 3rd masc. sing.: **إِذَا مَاتَ ظَهَرَتْ لَهُ الْآشِيَاءُ عَلَى خَلَافِ مَا يُشَاهِدُهُ آلَانَ** 'When someone dies, things seem to him different from how he now sees them'; with the passive without a subject, see §199 b.

Note 1. Similarly, in nominal constructions with the personal suffixes: **كَفَوْلِكَ** 'like your speech', or **كَفَوْلِهِمْ** 'like their speech', i.e., 'as they say, as it is said, as one says'.

b) With the active participle of the verb which forms the predicate; as a singular, the participle is usually indefinite, as a plural, definite: **لَا يُشَغِّلُكَ غَنْتَ شَاغِلٌ** 'Someone said', **قَالَ قَائِلٌ** 'Don't let anything distract you!', **لَمْ يَرَ آرَاؤُونَ مِثْلَهُ**, 'No one ever saw anyone like him.'

Note 2. Likewise, with nominal constructions: **لَوْنَةُ لَا**, 'someone's blame'.

§359. The absence of the subject occurs with the passive of intransitive and, occasionally, transitive verbs (§199 b): **عَشَى عَلَيْهِ** 'There was a covering thrown over him, i.e., he fainted'. There are only a few other cases of the unmentioned subject, e.g.: **كَفَى بِاللَّهِ شَهِيدًا**: 'God is a sufficient witness'

(Koran 4:79, 166; 10:29, etc.), بَدَا لَهُ ‘It seemed good to him’, i.e., ‘He decided’ (as in the example cited in §329.3).

Note 1. When the subject can be determined from the context, it is not a case of a truly lacking subject: لَوْ أَقْمَتْ لَسْرَنَا ‘If you would remain, it would make us happy’, فَذَهَبَتْ مَثَلًا Then it (what was told) became a proverb’, لَكَانَ فِي آلَيْوْمَ الْرَّابِعِ ‘when it was [on] the fourth day’.

Note 2. Observe that verbs which incorporate an element of time always take a personal subject: لَكَا أَصْبَحْنَا آنَصْرَفْنَا ‘When we woke up in the morning’, i.e., ‘when it was morning, we left.’

Nominal Sentences

§360. The nominal sentence describes a condition which exists or a desired one: أَسْلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ ‘Peace be on you!’ (a Muslim greeting). To refer to a past and future condition, a verbal sentence with كَانَ ‘was’ or يَكُونُ ‘will be’ is used (§§382 a; 190.2).

Note 1. Terms referring to time are sometimes the subject of a nominal sentence: هُنَارَهُ صَاهِمٌ وَلَيْلَهُ قَاهِمٌ ‘His day is fasting, and his night is standing’, i.e., ‘Daytime he fasts, and nighttime he is awake’.

§361. The predicate of a nominal sentence may be a noun, pronoun, prepositional phrase (§293), or adverb (§§315 ff.), e.g.: هُمْ فَوْقُ ‘They are above’, كَيْفَ حَالُكَ ‘How are you?’. In addition, relative clauses (§§421 ff.) and subordinate clauses beginning with *an*, *anna*, *mā* (§§414 ff.) may be predicates. Adjectival predicates are as a rule asyndetically coordinated, i.e., without a conjunction: إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ‘God is forgiving and merciful’.

Note 1. See §202 on the use of the predicative participle.

§362. Adjectives in the predicate are in the nominative of the indefinite state and agree with the subject (§§113 f.): أَلْوَلَدْ ضَغِيرٌ ‘The boy is small’, أَلْأَوْلَانُ حَمْتِلَةٌ ‘The camel is big-humped’, أَلْأَنَاقَةُ كَوْنَمَاءٌ ‘The colors are diverse’, هُمْ بَيَانُمْ ‘They are sleeping’ (§122). On agreement in cases like: كُلُّ جَزِيبٍ بِهَا لَدَيْهِمْ فَرِحُونَ (Koran 23:53; 30:32), see §353.

§363. a) Substantives in the predicate are in the nominative of the indefinite state and, as such, have a qualifying sense: **هُوَ رَجُلٌ** ‘He is a man’, **نَحْنُ حَرِيرٌ** ‘We are war (i.e., hostile) to you’, **حَرْبَتْ لَكُمْ** ‘His garment is silk (i.e., made of silk)’, **أَنْتَ إِيمَانٌ** ‘You are reliability (i.e., reliable)’, **أَمْرَكَ طَاغِيَةً** ‘Your order means obedience’, **الَّذِي يَوْمٌ وَلَيْلَةً** ‘Time consists of day and night’.

b) A definite substantive or a predicate that serves as a substantive has an identifying sense: **هَذِهِ الْفَرْسَةُ فَرَسْكٌ** ‘This horse is your horse’, **أَنْتَ أَمِيرُ الْأُمَمِينَ** ‘You are the commander of the faithful’. If a predicate substantive is made definite with the article, a compound sentence with a copulative subject pronoun (§370 a) results: **أُولَئِكُمْ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ** ‘Those are the unbelievers’.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the definite predicate is occasionally introduced by *bi-* (§294 d): **هُوَ يَهُو** ‘He is it’.

Note 2. Matching subject and predicate are used to emphasize an identity: **أَرْضُكَ أَرْضُكَ**, ‘Your land is really yours’.

§364. The 3rd person pronoun in the predicate always refers to a person; neuter “it” does not exist in Arabic: **أَنْتَ هُوَ** ‘You (masc.) are it’ (literally ‘you are he’), **أَنْتِ هُنْ** ‘You (fem.) are it’ (literally ‘you are she’), **أَنْتُمْ هُنْ** ‘You (pl.) are it’, **إِنَّهَا هُوَ** ‘Verily, he is it’, **هَذَا هُوَ هُوَ** ‘This is it, there it is’, **هَذِهِ عَجُورٌ** ‘This is an old woman’, ‘There is an old woman’.

§365. a) The 3rd person pronoun is often lacking in the subject or predicate position, especially after *idhā* (§280) and *fa-* (§329): **I أَنْتَ قَادِماً أَلْوَزِيرُ** ‘If I turned around, and there (it) was the vizier’, **إِنْ كَانَ مَغْبِدٌ فِي الْدُّنْيَا فَهُدَا** ‘If there is a Ma‘bad in the world, then this one is it’ (§448).

b) In the following formulas, the 3rd person pronoun is regularly lacking: **قَدْكَدَ** ‘(It is) enough for you!’, **قَدْنِي** or **قَدِي** ‘Enough for me!’, **وَكَانَ أَنْشِي فِي** ‘Enough for you!’, etc., **كَانَ** (§§415; 418 b) ‘It is as if ...’, e.g., **جَنَّةً** ‘And it is as if I were walking in a garden’.

Note 1. *ka-anna* may occur with predicate *bi-* (§294 d): **كَانَ يُكَانِي بِكَ** ‘It is as if I had something to do with you’, ‘It is as if I saw you before me’. It is often augmented by a circumstantial accusative (§383) or a circumstantial clause

(§436): 'كَأَنَّكَ بِهِ قَدْ أَذْرَكَ' 'It is as if you had something to do with him as he has already met you', i.e., 'It seems that he has already met you'.

§366. The word order is usually subject–predicate. Definite predicates, however, may come at the beginning of the sentence: 'The maid is in her chamber'، but 'في آلَيْتِ جَارِيَةً' 'In her chamber is the maid'. Likewise, sentence elements called into question appear at the beginning: 'مَنْ فِي آلَيْتِ؟' 'Who is in the room?' and analogously in the reply: 'آءِيَّةً فِي آلَيْتِ' 'A maid is in the room'.

Note 1. The introductory particle *'inna* (§339) has no influence on the position of words in the nominal sentence: 'إِنْ فِي آلَيْتِ جَارِيَةً' 'Verily, in the room is a slave-girl'.

§367. a) A nominal sentence is negated with *mā*, *'in*, and *laysa* (§§321ff.). After *mā* and *'in* the predicate is in the nominative; after *laysa*, in the accusative. The predicate may also be introduced with *bi-* (§294 d): 'مَا أَنْتَ لَشَّتْ بِخَيْلٍ' or 'لَشَّتْ بِخَيْلًا' 'You are not miserly'. An indefinite subject is frequently introduced with partitive *min* (§299 b): 'مَا لَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ' 'You have no protector apart from God' (Koran 2:107; 9:116; 29:22; etc.); cf. §318 b.

Note 1. The use of so-called 'ما آلْحِيَارِيَّةَ' "the Hijāzī *mā*", according to which the predicate follows in the accusative, as with *laysa*, is limited to pre-classical Arabic: 'مَا هَذَا بَشَرًا' 'This is no mortal' (Koran 12:31).

Note 2. The subject may be negated with the particle of general denial *lā* (§318 c): 'لَا شَاعِرٌ مِثْلُهُ' 'There is no poet like him'.

b) Nominal predicates may be negated with *ghayru* (§325 b). In this case, agreement of the adjective is unaffected: 'دِيَارُنَا غَيْرَ بَعِيدَةٌ' 'Our dwellings are not far'.

Compound Sentences

§368. The subject of a compound sentence is always at the beginning. Any nominal or pronominal part of the sentence may become the subject of a copulative sentence by being placed at the beginning for emphasis. In

the predicate clause, then, a copulative personal pronoun or personal suffix appears for the subject: مَاتْ أَبُو زَيْدٍ ‘Zayd, his father died’ as opposed to مَاتْ أَبُو زَيْدٍ ‘The father of Zayd died’. If the subject of a copulative sentence is also a subject in the predicate clause, the subject pronoun that is incorporated in the verb functions as a copulative pronoun, provided there is a verbal clause. According to §357, there is strict agreement between verb and subject: مَغْصِيَّةُ الْعَاقِلِ تُورِثُ الْخَنَرَةَ ‘The disobedience of the sensible one engenders sadness’.

§369. a) The subject may come at the beginning of the sentence for reasons of context and prominence and usually in connection with the use of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns: أَيُّ رَجُلٍ جَاءَ ‘Which man came?’ . The same also occurs with the introductory particles, *idhā* (§280), *ammā* (§336), and *inna, lakinna, la'alla, layta* (§§338 ff.). The introductory genitive (§389) after *wa-* and *rubba* regularly appears at the beginning of the sentence and is the subject of a compound sentence.

b) Spontaneous placement of the subject at the beginning of the sentence is used to emphasize contrasts: أَشَاهِدُ مَا لَا يَرَى الْغَائِبُ ‘The eye-witness sees what the one who is absent does not’. Similarly: لِئَنْتُمْ أَفَّى ‘What an excellent youth you have slandered!’ (§§259 ff.), شَانَ لَا طَعَنْتَ عَلَيْهِ ‘Two (things) are unavoidable’, بَدْ وَهُمَا ‘A certain thing I have been seeking for twenty years’.

Note 1. See §§409 a; 433 ff.; 428 ff. on copulative subordinate clauses.

§370. The predicate of a compound sentence is a verb or a nominal clause in which a copulative pronoun refers to the subject.

a) The copulative pronoun is the subject of the predicate clause: أُولَئِكَ الْعَاقِلُ لَا يُضَاهِبُ الْأَشْرَارَ ‘Those are the unbelievers’ (§363 b), هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ ‘The sensible one does not associate with the evil ones’.

Note 1. The copulative personal pronoun may be lacking before an indefinite nominal predicate: أَمَّا نِيَابُهُمْ فَيِضْ ‘As for their garments, they are white’.

b) The copulative pronoun is the object of a predicate clause: إِنِّي لِلَّهُوَى ‘Look at me! Passion has conquered me’. In these examples,

رَبِّ كَيْنٍ[؟]
the copulative pronoun may be lacking, unless ambiguity results: شَرِبْتَ many a cup have you drunk' (rather than شَرِبْتَنَا).

Note 2. In these cases, a substantive which becomes prominent by its placement at the beginning of the sentence appears on occasion in the accusative as a result of prolepsis: وَالْقَمَرُ قَدَّرَنَا مَنَازِلَ 'And the moon — we have determined for it stations' (Koran 36:39).

c) The copulative pronoun occupies the position of the genitive in the predicate clause: وَالظُّلْمُ مَرْتَغَةٌ وَخَمْ 'And tyranny, its pasturing ground is unhealthy'.

Predicate Complements

§371. a) Nominal, prepositional, and verbal complements may be added to the verbal predicate. The nominal predicate complement is in the accusative (§§372 ff.). See §293 on the use of prepositional predicate complements. Verbal predicate complements are termed circumstantial clauses (§§431 ff.).

b) In nominal sentences, prepositional phrases (§293) or circumstantial expressions of adverbial origin (§§315 ff.) may be appended to the predicate: هُوَ أَسْدٌ 'Kings are (no more than) dust before God', إِنَّ الْكُلُوكَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ تُرَابٌ 'He is a lion on the day of the battle'.

Uses of the Accusative

§372. When it is governed by a verb, the accusative is the object, inner (absolute) object, or predicate accusative. Additional uses of the accusative, namely, adverbial expressions describing circumstances and denominational expressions indicating conditions, have developed from the accusative and assumed a status of their own. The accusative governed by the verb as a rule follows the verb; placement of the accusative first for emphasis does, however, occasionally occur (§370.2).

Note 1. On the accusative as vocative, §§157 f.; with the general negation, §318 c; after *wa-* 'with', §328 b; with numbers, §§130 f.; after particles of exception, §§310 a; 312; after introductory particles, §§338 ff.; in negative nominal sentences, §367.

Accusative as Object

§373. The accusative indicates the direct object on which an action is effected: يَظْلِبُ الْعِلْمَ ‘He seeks knowledge’, قَدِمَ الْبَصْرَةَ ‘He reached Basra’, تَبَعَ أَباهُ ‘He followed his father’, آتَاهُ ‘He came to him’.

Note 1. One must determine from the lexicon which verbs are used with the object accusative. Occasionally, either the accusative or a preposition is used: ذَهَبَ إِلَى الشَّامٍ or ذَهَبَ إِلَى الشَّامِ ‘He went to Syria’.

Note 2. Pronominal object complements may be omitted from verbs that appear in quick succession: قُلْتُ لَهُ حَدَّثْنِي فَقَعَلْ ‘I said to him: Report to me. He did (it)’.

Note 3. An unspecified object may be expressed with a verbal adjective of the same verbal stem: قَلَ قَبِيلًا ‘He killed someone’.

§374. a) Causative verbs and those with related meanings may take an additional object accusative referring to a person: عَلَمَهُ الْقِرَاءَةَ ‘He taught him reading’, أَغْطَى ابْنَتَهُ نِطَافًا ‘He gave his daughter a girdle’, أَفْسَكَهُمْ وَأَهْلِيْكُمْ نَارًا وَقُوْدُهَا آنَاسٌ ‘He clothed me in his garments’, قُوْدُهَا آنَاسٌ ‘Guard yourselves and your families against a fire whose fuel is men ...’ (Koran 66:6). Cf. also §§271 f.

Note 1. With certain verbs, the second accusative is a predicate accusative (§§380 ff.).

b) If verbs like these appear in the passive (§§199 f.), the personal object becomes the subject, while the second accusative remains unaffected: أُوتِينَا كِتَابًا ‘She was given a girdle’, أَتَتِينَا كِتَابًا ‘She received a girdle’, أَتَانَا كِتَابًا ‘We received a letter’, passive formation of أَتَانَا كِتَابًا ‘He sent us a letter’.

Note 2. The intransitive basic stem is treated like a passive: لَيْسَتْ شَيْئَةٌ ‘I dressed in his clothes’, مَلِئَ الَّدْنُو مَاءً ‘The bucket was filled with water’, intransitive of مَلِأَ الَّدْنُو مَاءً ‘He filled the bucket with water’.

§375. The accusative may refer to a perceived or intended object, even if it is not governed by a verb: أَلْبَلَ وَاللَّهُ ‘(Look) the new moon, by God!’, أَتَوْا يَنَّا وَقَدْ ‘Hearing and obeying’, i.e., ‘I am ready to obey’, سَمِعَ وَطَاعَةً ‘Gray hairs cover you?’, غَلَّاكَ الْكَشِيبُ ‘Is there hesitancy now that gray hairs cover you?’; often as

an exclamation or warning: أَلْأَسَدُ أَلْأَسَدُ أَخْدِيثُ 'Please, the story!', Watch out, the lion!', مَكَّنْتُكَ رِجْلَكَ 'Careful, your foot', مَكَّنْتَكَ 'Stay where you are!' (cf. §379.1). Cf. also §§272.2; 316.

Note 1. Verbal substantives used in exclamations have the sense of imperatives: فَإِذَا لَقِيْتُمُ الظَّالِمِينَ كَفِرُوا فَصُرِبْتُمْ آتِرْقَابِ 'When you meet the unbelievers, then smite them on their necks' (Koran 47:4); أَلْأَسْرَ أَلْأَسْرَ 'Take prisoners!'. On the accusative used with the vocative, see §§157 f.

Inner (Absolute) Object

§376. Any verb, even intransitive and passive, may occur in conjunction with the accusative of the inner object, with the effect of confirming or strengthening the action. As a rule, the inner object is the verbal substantive of the main verb: ضَرَبَهُ ضَرَبَنَا 'He hit him hitting, i.e., really', 'He was struck with a blow, i.e., was really hit'. Even verbal substantives of another verb stem of the same root, a *nomen vicis* (§232), or a *nomen speciei* (§77), may be an inner object: إِقْتَلُوا قِتَالًا شَدِيدًا 'They fought each other in a violent fighting', رَمَى رَمَيْتَنِينَ 'He shot two shots, i.e., twice', قَتَلُوكُمْ كُلَّ قِتْلَةً 'They killed them with every way of killing, i.e., in every conceivable way'.

Note 1. Sometimes a verbal substantive with a related meaning occurs as the inner object: شَدُودَهُ رِبَاطًا 'They bound him really tight.'

Note 2. The inner object may be represented by the personal suffix: فَرِحَتَانِ يَفْرَحُهُمَا 'Two joys that he feels'.

§377. Most of the time, the inner object appears with an attribute or genitive that further specifies the action and is used to qualify the verb: إِعْلَمْتُ عَلَيْهِ أَطْلَاغًا لِمَ أَشَكَ فِيهِ 'He educated him really well', أَدْبَثْتُ تَأْدِيبًا حَسَنًا 'I found out enough about him that I had no more doubts'; — it appears with the genitive often to offer comparison: حَافَ خُوفَ آنْجِيَانِ 'He was frightened like a coward', سُقْنَاهُمْ سُوقَ آلِبَكَارِ 'We drove them like camels', أَخْحُمْتُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ حُكْمَكَ عَلَيْهِ 'I judge it as you do'.

Note 1. Sometimes the adjective appears alone and thus assumes the role of an adverb: كَانَ يَأْتِي كَثِيرًا 'He came often (much)'. The verbal substantive is usually lacking when numbers are cited: شَتَّمَهُ أَلْفًا 'You have insulted him a thousand times', ضَرَبَهُ سِتِّينَ 'He struck him 60 (blows)'.

Adverbial Accusative

§378. Verbal substantives that are not related in meaning to their respective verbal predicates are used as inner objects to describe circumstances, i.e., the kind and manner or the cause of the action: ذَهَبُوا جَمِيعًا 'They ran away taking great leaps', أَخْذَهُ عَضْبًا 'He seized him by force', يَسْكُنُ جَهَنَّمَ 'He remained silent out of ignorance', قَمَتْ إِكْرَامًا لَهُ 'I stood up in honor of him'.

Note 1. Adverbs like عَلَانِيَةً 'openly', عَنْدًا 'deliberately', among others, have developed into independent expressions from this usage.

§379. The accusative is used to indicate extent and direction, as well as duration and points in time: سَارَ فَزْ سَعْيَنِ 'He traveled two parsangs', رَفَقْنَا بِغَصْنِهِمْ فَوْقَ بَعْضِ ذَرْجَاتِ 'We raised some of them above the others by several steps' (Koran 43:32), تَبَدَّلُوا شَرْقًا وَغَربًا 'They scattered east and west', كَانَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ حِجَّةَ مِنَ الْكُوفَةِ 'This happened on his return from Kufa' (§382.2), أَقَامَ بِكَثَّةِ عَامَ الْفَتحِ نِصْفَ شَهْرٍ 'During the year of the conquest, he spent a half month in Mecca'; cf. §315 b.

Note 1. This kind of accusative sometimes occurs with terms indicating places: إِجْلِسُوا مَكَانَكُمْ 'Remain sitting in your place!'

Note 2. The personal suffixes may substitute for this accusative: لَيَالٌ مَرِضَتْهَا 'Nights during which I was ill'.

Circumstantial Accusative

§380. The circumstantial accusative functions as a predicate to a verb and indicates a simultaneous condition (حَالٌ). As such, these predicatives are treated as nominal predicates (§§361 f.): They can be nouns or adjectives, are usually indefinite, and agree grammatically with the subject (§§113 f.): قَامَتْ أَبْنَتَهُ إِلَيْهِ يَاكِيَّةً 'His sister, crying, went up to him', خَرَجْنَا مُتَوَجِّهِنَّ إِلَى الْيَمَنِ 'We departed in the direction of Yemen', ظَلَّعَ الْقَمَرُ بَذْرًا 'The moon rose full', تَأْتُونَ أَفْوَاجًا 'You come

in droves'. Adjectival predicate elements follow one another asyndetically (§361): أَخْرَجْ مِنْهَا مَذْءُومًا مَذْحُوا 'Go forth from it (from Paradise), despised and banished!' (Koran 7:18).

Note 1. As a circumstantial accusative, the participle may be imperfective or perfective (§202 c): خَرَجَ هَارِبًا 'He went out, with the intent of fleeing', جاءَ هَارِبًا 'He came in flight'.

Note 2. The predicative may precede an indefinite subject: إِذَا جَاءَهُ مُرْتَيْبًا سَائِلٌ 'If a beggar, with a wish, comes to him ...'.

Note 3. The predicative adjective may have its own subject with which it agrees: أَمْسَتِ الْأَفَاقَ عَبْرًا جُحْوَهَا 'In the evening the horizon appeared dust-colored at its edges' (§435).

§381. When used with verbs conveying the ideas of "inducing . . . , considering as . . . , finding as . . . ", and the like, the circumstantial accusative refers to the object and agrees with it as need be: أَرَانِي أَكْبَرَ مِنْكَ 'I see myself as larger than you' (i.e., 'that I am larger than you'), جَعَلَ لَكُمْ أَنْجَدَرَ قَرَازًا 'It is God who made for you the earth as a resting place' (Koran 40:64), وَجَذَتِ النِّسَاءَ غَادِرَ أَقْرَانَةَ أَمْوَاتَهُنَّ 'He left his opponents for dead', وَجَذَتِ النِّسَاءَ مَغْشِيًّا عَلَيْهِنَّ 'I found the women unconscious' (§204). If a causative governs two accusatives (§374), the circumstantial accusative refers to the second object: تَرَيَكُمْ أَعْمَالَكُمْ حَبِيبَةً 'He showed them that their deeds were evil'.

Note 1. If the circumstantial accusative refers to subject and object, it appears in the dual as the occasion arises: مَئَى مَا تَلْقَيْ فَرَدِينَ 'whenever you meet me so that we are both alone'.

Note 2. According to §363 b, a personal pronoun may come before a definite predicate: جَعَلْنَا ذُرَيْتَهُمْ آبَاقِينَ 'We caused his descendants to be the unending ones', إِذَا كَانَ الْوَاجِبُ هُوَ الْغَنْفُ 'If violence is the obligation' (§382).

§382. a) Nominal predicates coming after كَانَ 'be' (§360) may be considered to be in the circumstantial accusative: كَانَ أَخَا لِي 'He was a brother of mine', أَلَّئِنْ؛ أَنْوَاحِدُ لَا يَكُونُ مَوْجُودًا مَشْدُومًا 'A single thing cannot (at the same time) exist and be non-existent'. Any other predicate in a nominal sentence (§361) may also occur with *kāna*, e.g., كَانَ لِي أَخٌ

brother was mine', i.e., 'I have a brother', 'His return will be tomorrow'. See §381.2 on the definite predicate.

Note 1. Although the personal suffixes do not occur in place of the circumstantial accusative, *kāna* may appear with predicate personal suffixes: إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَكُونَ 'Watch out that you are not it!'.

Note 2. Without a predicate, *kāna* has the meaning 'exist, occur': كَانَ تَاجِرٌ 'He was once a merchant'. See §§190 ff., on *kāna* in complex verbal constructions.

b) In the same manner, accusative predicates may occur with such semantically related verbs as (لَا يَرَأُ مَا زَالَ (يَصِيرُ) صَارَ 'not cease', i.e., 'continue being, still ...', among others: 'The earth became fertile', لَمْ يَرَلْ قَوِيًّا 'He was still strong'. In place of the circumstantial accusative, there may be a circumstantial clause (§432): لَا يَرَأُ دَائِرًا or لَا يَرَأُ لَا يَتَكَلَّمُ 'He is still turning', صَارَ لَا يَتَكَلَّمُ 'He became so that he did not speak', i.e., 'He became speechless'.

§383. a) A substantive or personal pronoun (personal suffixes) may be followed by an appositional circumstantial accusative which indicates the immediate condition of the substantive or the pronoun: مَا لِحِسْمِكَ شَاحِبًا 'What's with your body, being (so) emaciated', i.e., Why is your body so emaciated?', هُوَ جَشْ آخْمَرُ وَارْدَةً 'It is the sound of the wild asses going to drink', إِتَهْنُوا إِلَيْهِ جَالِسًا قَدَامَ بَيْتِهِ 'They reached him just as he was sitting before his house'.

b) Substantives in the appositional accusative most often have an explicative sense: 'I called to God to hear (my prayers)', هَذَا عَنْتَ أَطْيَبُ مِنْ رَبِيَّا 'This is more tasty as fresh grapes than it is as raisins'. The appositional accusative of pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons is, as a rule, definite: أَنْتُمْ آلَّؤْمِنَىءِ 'You, as believers', نَحْنُ مَعَايِزَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ 'We, the multitude of prophets'.

Note 1. The explicative accusative is for the most part replaceable with *min* (§299.4): يَا لَهُ مِنْ رَجُلٍ or يَا لَهُ رَجُلٌ 'Oh, what a man!' (§347.1).

Note 2. The explication may consist of a distributive pair (§402): سَمَاهُمْ كَذَلِكَ الَّذِهْرُ حَالًا بَعْدَ حَالٍ 'So is time one state after another'.

Note 3. In pre-classical Arabic, substantives occur on occasion in the definite appositional accusative: إِمْرَأَتُهُ حَمَّالَةُ الْحَطَبِ 'his wife, the carrier of the firewood' (Koran 111:4), بِنَفْلَيْهِ الْعُقَقُ 'with his sandals, the old ones'.

Accusative of Specificity

§384. The indefinite accusative is used to specify (§141 c). It occurs with verbs: لَنْ تَبْلُغَ الْجِبَالَ عِشْقًا 'You increase in love', i.e., 'You love more'; with adjectives in the predicate and, especially, with the elative (§124.3): أَخْدَثْنَا بِسِنًّا 'the youngest among us in age'; هُوَ أَكْثَرُ قَوْمٍ مَالًا 'He is the most of his people in possessions', i.e., 'He is the most wealthy of his people'. This accusative is also used to indicate content and material: جَبَبُكَ خَرْبًا 'your jubbah of silk', مِنْقَالُ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا 'an atom's weight of good' (Koran 99:7); cf. §§261 b; 262; 287.

Nominal Constructions

Genitive Constructions

§385. a) A substantive that is dependent on a noun is in the genitive. The noun on which the genitive depends is in the construct state (§§145 f.). Additional genitives may be dependent on a genitive: أَسْمَاءُ حَيْلٍ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ 'The names of the horses of the Messenger of God'.

Note 1. Personal pronouns in genitive position appear as personal suffixes (§269). All prepositions govern the genitive (§§291 ff.). See §§129; 132 on the use of the genitive after numerals.

Note 2. Relative clauses as well as subordinate clauses introduced by 'an, 'anna, or mā (§§414 ff.) may appear in the position of a genitive. Only with substantives referring to time (§420) may clauses follow the construct state without a subordinating particle.

b) The genitive construction, which consists of the construct state (*regens*, i.e., governing) and the *rectum* (i.e., governed) in the genitive,

رَأْسُ زَيْدٍ normally indicates the connection of the *regens* to the *rectum*: ‘the head of Zayd’. The genitive construction, however, also involves the relationship of the *rectum* to the *regens*: أَرْضُ جَذْبٍ ‘Earth with barrenness’, i.e., ‘infertile earth’ (§§391 ff.).

c) In genitive constructions which represent lexical unities, e.g., personal names like عَبْدُ الْمَغْمَدِ ('slave of the Merciful'), (سُنْنَةُ الدَّيْنِ ('sun of the religion'), أَبُو بَكْرٍ ('father of Bakr') or the constructions mentioned in §391, the construct state retains its grammatical independence: يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ 'Oh, Abu Bakr'. If such constructions occur in the plural, as a rule both members become plurals: أَمِيرُ الْجَنَاحِ from أَمْرَاءُ الْجَنَاحِ 'commander of the army', أَخْوَانُ الْتَّقَّةِ from إِخْوَانُ تَقَّةٍ 'trustworthy' (§391).

Note 3. If the *regens* indicates only a formal connection, gender agreement is sometimes determined by the genitive (§353). Like other names of clans, even those formed with بْنُ 'sons of ...' are regularly feminine (§86b).

Note 4. In post-classical Arabic, compound names are treated as units, so that forms like عبد الله (§116) from عبد الله (§96), عَبْدَ اللَّهِ 'Abd Allāh ('slave of God') make their way into classical texts.

§386. a) The genitive is used to express various kinds of relationships: possession or being part of, belonging to a space, a time, and so forth, e.g., طَرِيقُ الْكُتَّابِ 'the pen of the scribes', سُوقُ عَكَاظٍ 'the market of Ukaaz', قَمَّ الْكُتَّابِ 'the way to Syria', مَطَرُ الشَّتَاءِ 'the rain in winter'. If the meanings of both members together imply no particular relationship, the genitive construction indicates a simple belonging together: ثَلَاثُ لَيَالٍ وَأَيَامٌ 'three nights and their (proper) days'.

Note 1. Proper names also may be in the genitive: نَابِغَةُ ذُبَيْانَ Nābighah of (the clan of) Dhubyān', طَرِابُلْسُ الْشَّامِ 'Tripoli of Syria'.

Note 2. Expressions of time often receive a genitive personal suffix that refers to the appropriate person: مَصَى لَيْلَةً 'He spent his night (i.e., the night as it concerned him at the time)', رَجَعَ مِنْ وَقْتِهِ 'He returned at his time, i.e., at once'. Demonstratives in the genitive refer, however, to a situation or event: يَوْمَ ذَلِكِ 'on the day of that', i.e., 'on the day when that occurred'.

b) The genitive may appear in a subject or object relationship with a verbal substantive (*genitivus subjectivus, gen. objectivus*): ‘**حُبُّ لَيْلَةٍ**’ ‘the love of Laylā’, i.e., ‘Laylā’s loving’ or ‘loving Laylā’, ‘**حَدِيثُ عُمَرٍ**’ ‘the report ‘Umar gave’ or ‘the report about ‘Umar’; see also §206.

Note 3. The object genitive may appear with active participles: **مُؤَلِّفُ الْكِتَابِ** ‘the author of the book’; see also §146 c. The subject genitive may appear with passive verbal adjectives: **قَتِيلُ الْجُنُوْبِ** ‘killed by starvation’.

§387. a) When dependent on an elative (§124), (§136), (§286), (أُيُّ), (كُلُّ), (مِنْ), (§287), (§299.4), and a few others, the indefinite genitive indicates the overall class to which the preceding word belongs: ‘**كُلُّ رَجُلٍ**’ ‘every man’, ‘**أَفْضَلُ رَجُلٍ**’ ‘the most excellent man’, ‘**مِنْ رِجَالٍ**’ ‘what men’. This kind of genitive (which may be termed the generic genitive) may also be used with adjectives functioning as substantives: ‘**كَبِيرٌ شَيْءٌ**’ ‘important of matter’, i.e., ‘something important’, ‘**نَجِيْعٌ دَمٌ**’ ‘curdled with blood’.

b) The definite genitive in such constructions indicates a totality, and so the *regens* functions in a partitive relationship with the *rectum*: ‘**أَفْضَلُ آذَنَاتِ رِجَالٍ**’ ‘the most excellent of the men’, ‘**أَخْسَنُ صُنْعَةٍ**’ ‘the best of his work’, i.e., ‘his best work’, ‘**كُلُّ الْقَوْلِ**’ ‘the entire speech’, ‘**أَيُّ الْعَمَلِ**’ ‘which part of the (whole) action’. Adjectives functioning as substantives also work in a similar way: ‘**فِي قَدِيمِ آزَمَانٍ كَرِيمٌ حُكْمٌ**’ ‘the noble side of his character’, ‘**كَرِيمٌ حُكْمٌ**’ ‘in olden times’.

Note 1. Partitive genitive constructions often have a superlative sense: **دَقِيقُ الْإِشَارَاتِ قَاضِي الْقَضَايَا** ‘judge of judges’, i.e., ‘chief judge’, ‘**الْأَنْثَى**’ ‘the subtleness of the signs’, i.e., ‘the especially subtle signs’.

Note 2. ‘**الْأَنْثَى**’ ‘the people’, as a partitive genitive, is sometimes treated as an indefinite like a generic genitive: ‘**كَانَ أَوَّلَ الْأَنْثَى ضَرِبَتْهُ**’ ‘He was the first (of the people) to hit him’.

§388. a) Adjectives may govern the genitive of specificity. This genitive is always definite in the generic sense (§144), but it does not make the adjective definite (“improper annexation” §146 c): ‘**حَسَنٌ أَنْوَجٌ**’ ‘pretty with respect to the face, pretty-faced’, ‘**إِمْرَأَةٌ سُوْدَاءُ الْشَّغْرِ**’ ‘a black-haired woman’, ‘**الْأَنْزَادَةُ السُّوْدَاءُ الْشَّغْرِ**’ ‘the black-haired woman’. This genitive may be replaced

with the personal suffixes: كَانَ يَزِيدُ حَسْنَ اللَّهِيَّةَ خَفِيفَهَا 'Yazid was handsome of beard but thin of it', i.e., 'had a handsome but thin beard' (§§145 c; 380).

Note 1. This genitive also occurs in pre-classical Arabic in *nisbah*-adjectives referring to clan-names: أَتَيْمِيَّ تَيْمٌ عَدِيَّ 'belonging to the clan of Taym, namely Taym (ibn) 'Adi'.

b) Terms of comparison like مِثْلٌ 'resembling', عِذْلٌ 'equivalent', مُؤْتَمِنٌ 'other than' (§325) may also appear, usually defined in the generic sense, with the genitive. The *regens*, however, is considered indefinite (§146 b): حَسْنَمْ قَدْرُ آرَجَحِ الْكَعْدِلِ الْخَلْقَةِ 'an idol the size of a man of medium stature', شِبَّهَ الْفَنِيلِ 'something verb-like'.

§389. The introductory genitive presents a new subject. It is always indefinite and as a rule singular. It appears with *rubba* 'many a' (§337) and, in poetry, with *wa-* (§328). The introductory genitive is usually the subject of a copulative sentence: يَا رَبَّ مَكْرُوبٍ كَرَزْتُ وَرَاءَهُ 'Oh, behind many an overburdened one have I ridden'. While the genitive after *rubba* refers to a plurality of subjects, after *wa-*, the plural is not necessarily implied: وَذَارُ تَوَدَّبَ فِيهَا الْبَنَاءُ، وَكَلِّيْنَ شَرِبَتُ 'Many a cup have I quaffed' (§370 b), وَذِي رِجْلَيْنَ لَا يَنْشِي 'I speak about) a house in which the falcons were trained', وَذِي عَلَيْهِمَا 'I know of one with two legs who does not walk on them' (§391 a).

Note 1. The plural may follow *wa-*: وَأَيَّامَ عَصَيْنَا الْمُلْكَ فِيهَا '(I remember) the days when we defied the king'.

Note 2. On rare occasion, this genitive may follow *fa-* (§329), *bal* (§326), or there may be no particle at all: بَلْ بَلْدِ مُلْءِ الْفِجَاجِ قَمَمَهُ 'But (now I think of) a place where the paths are filled with dust'.

§390. a) The qualifying genitive indicates something by which the *regens* is characterized: أَقْوَالُ الْأَصَالِلِ 'an oath of sincerity', 'a sincere oath', 'the words of error', 'false statements'; also with proper names: عَلْقَمَةُ الْأَنَدَى 'Alqamah of generosity', i.e., 'the generous 'Alqamah', 'Uwayf with the rhymes'.

b) It is also used to indicate dimension, content, or material: سَنَةْ حَنِينٍ ‘in the year 75’ (§379), مَلِكُ شَهْرٍ مَاءً ‘king of a month (for a month)’, كَاسٌ شَهْرٌ ‘a cup of water’, وَسَبْعَيْنَ ‘houses made of marble’.

Note 1. In addition, materials may be indicated by apposition (§394 a), the indefinite accusative (§384), or *min* (§299 a).

Note 2. In fixed expressions, adjectival qualification in the genitive is also used on occasion: رَبِيعُ الْأَوَّلِ ‘Rabi‘ I’, رَبِيعُ الْآخِرِ ‘Rabi‘ II’ (names of months), عَامُ الْآخِرِ ‘the previous year’, غَامُ الْآخِرِ ‘the next year’, مَسْجِدُ الْجَامِعِ ‘the main mosque’.

§391. a) The nominal demonstrative ذُو (§283) followed by substantives or adjectives in the genitive is used to form qualifying expressions: ذُو الْقَرْبَيْنِ ‘the one with the two horns’ (proper name), ذُو الْعِلْمِ ‘the one with knowledge, the knowing’, ذُو مَالٍ ‘a wealthy man’ (§398.1).

Note 1. Only the dual and plural of *dhu* are combined with personal suffixes: ذُووكِ ‘your relatives/family’.

b) Terms referring to relationship are often used as substantives indicating a connection or affinity, as are also صَاحِبٌ ‘companion’, أَهْلٌ ‘people’, and words of like meaning, e.g.: أَبُو الضَّيْفِ ‘the father of the guest, the host’, إِبْنُ الْحَمْسِينَ ‘the son of fifty, the fifty-year-old’, إِبْنُ حَزْبٍ ‘son of war, warrior’, أَخْوَيْتَهُ ‘a trustworthy person’, صَاحِبُ شَرَابٍ ‘a drinker’, أَهْلُ الْسُّنْنَةِ ‘the followers of the Sunnah’.

Note 2. Such constructions are sometimes used for the names of things or animals: أَبُو الْحَصَنَيْنِ ‘daughters of time, blows of fate’, أَبُو الدَّهْرِ ‘father of the small fortress’, i.e., ‘fox’.

§392. Proper names follow in the genitive (*genitivus epexegeticus*) the appropriate terms that identify them: شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ ‘the month (called by the name of) Ramadan’, سُورَةُ فَاتِحَةِ الْكِتَابِ ‘the Surah (called) the Opening of the Book’, بَغْدَادٌ مَدِينَةُ بَغْدَادٍ ‘the city of Baghdad’, يَوْمُ الْأَحَدِ ‘the day one’, i.e., ‘Sunday’.

Note 1. Personal names are not in the genitive but follow in apposition (§394 b) to the term referring to the person.

Note 2. In analogy to proper names, terms indicating specific things are sometimes expressed in the genitive after a term referring to something generic: أَفَةُ الْمَخْلُوكِ ‘the plague of famine’; in the same way with grammatical terms: كَلِمَةُ كَانٍ ‘the word *kāna*’.

Apposition

§393. All nominal forms that appear as predicates in nominal sentences (§361), and including prepositions (§293 b), may clarify, emphasize, or qualify in apposition. Apposition follows the substantive, which functions as a *regens*, and agrees with it in case: كَابُولُ مَدِينَةٍ مَغْرُوفَةٍ فِي بَلَادِ الْتُرْكِ ‘Kabul, a famous city in the land of the Turks’, إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ صِرَاطُ اللَّهِ ‘to a straight path, the path of God’.

Note 1. When the *regens* is dependent on a preposition, that preposition may be repeated in the apposition: إِنَا مِنْ هَذَا أَخْيَرٍ مِنْ رَبِيعَةٍ ‘We belong to this clan, Rabī‘ah’. Personal suffixes may at times carry over into the term in apposition: مَعَ أَخِيهِ صَغِيرٍ وَ مَعَ أَخِيهِ صَغِيرٍ وَ ‘with his brother, the younger one’.

Note 2. A substantive in apposition may also appear after the personal pronouns of the 3rd person and demonstratives (§277). After the 1st and 2nd persons, the term in apposition is in the accusative (§383 b).

Note 3. After the personal suffixes, the apposition may appear in the accusative (§383) or with the preposition *min* (§299 a): ضَرَبَهُ الْوَجْهُ ‘He struck him, namely his face’, ضَرَبَهُ الْوَجْهَ ‘He struck him in the face’.

§394. a) A substantive in apposition may be used, like the genitive (§390 b), to indicate material or content and to denote dimension, weight, or price: جَبَّةٌ لِي صُوفٌ ‘a jacket of mine (made of) wool’, حَسْنَةٌ فَرَاسِعٌ ‘a purse (containing) 100 dinars’, حَسْنَةٌ مِائَةِ دِينَارٍ ‘a purse (containing) 100 dinars’, حَسْنَةٌ فِي خَمْسَةٍ ‘an island (measured) five by five parsangs’, مُصَنَّفَاتٌ عِدَّةٌ ‘systematic works (in) large quantity’.

Note 1. Prepositional apposition may occur instead: لِحَنْيَةٍ ذِرَاعٍ ‘a beard (of) a cubit’ or لِحَنْيَةٍ بِطُولِ ذِرَاعٍ ‘a beard the length of a cubit’; cf. also §299 a.

b) Personal names follow what they qualify in apposition; however, the qualified may also follow in apposition: أَخْوَكَ زَيْدٌ ‘your brother Zayd’

مُوئنی اللَّهِیْ اَخْوَک 'Zayd, your brother', الْإِمَامُ مَالِک 'the Imam Mālik', اَخْوَک 'the prophet Moses'.

§395. a) Permutative apposition makes it possible to put the second member of a genitive construction first. The prominent member is represented in the appositional term by a personal suffix: "أَغْبَيَتِي عَمْرٌو حُسْنُهُ" 'Amr, his handsomeness astonished me' = 'الْحُسْنُ عَمْرٌو' 'the handsomeness of 'Amr', 'أَكْثَرُ قَوْمَكُ أَكْثَرُهُمْ' 'your people, most of them' = 'أَكْثَرُ قَوْمَكُ أَكْثَرُهُمْ' 'most of your people'.

Note 1. This apposition may in special cases occur with the preposition *bi*: 'جَارِيَتِي بِعَنْهَا' 'my slave-girl herself', 'أَلَّا مِيرِي بِنَفْسِهِ' 'the prince himself', 'رَجُلٌ بِعَنْيَهِ' 'a certain man'.

b) Permutative apposition is the preferred construction in expressions that indicate totality and identity: 'إِنَّهَا كُلَّهُمَا' (§136), 'النِّسَاءُ كُلُّهُنَّ' 'all women', 'كُلُّهُمَا كُلُّهُنَّ' 'both his sons' (§109), 'قَامَ هُوَ نَفْسُهُ (عَنْيَهُ)' 'He himself stood up'.

§396. Appositional repetition is used for emphasis: 'إِذَا دَكَّتِ الْأَرْضُ دَكَّا دَكَّا' 'إِذَا دَكَّتِ الْأَرْضُ دَكَّا دَكَّا' 'if the cord, the cord of union, is not torn', 'يَصْرَمُ' 'When the earth is totally demolished' (Koran 89:21).

Note 1. Repetition also has a strengthening effect with other kinds of words: 'رَجُلٌ أَمِينٌ حَقُّ أَمِينٍ' 'Wake up, wake up!', 'أَفِيقُوا أَفِيقُوا' 'a reliable, truly reliable man'. See §402 on other uses of repetition.

§397. Abstracts denoting attributes also appear in apposition in an adjectival function. Here, the apposition agrees not only in case, but also in definiteness, with its *regens*: 'أَرْتَأَيْتِ الْخَطَا' 'a close-by place', 'مَوْضِعَ قُرْبٍ' 'the mistaken opinion', 'تَشْعِيْتُ' 'a subdivided distribution', 'خُلُقٌ عَادَةً' 'a character trait acquired by habit', 'الْتَّوَازِيْنَ الْقِنْسَطُ' 'the correct (just) scales'.

Note 1. Terms of comparison (§388 b) usually come after an indefinite *regens*: 'شَخْصٌ كَجَبَلٍ' 'a shape like a mountain'.

Attributives

§398. Attributive adjectives agree with governing substantives in case and definiteness, as well as in gender (number) according to the rules given in §§113 f.: 'أَلْخَارِيْةُ الصَّادِقَةُ' 'an honest man', 'رَجُلٌ صَادِقٌ' 'the honest slave-girl',

شَيْأَكَ الْبِيْضُ ‘your white garments’ (§119.2). The attribute of the *regens* in a genitive construction follows after the genitive; §§145 b; 146 a.

Note 1. Negative *ghayru* (§325) agrees in case with the governing substantive, with the adjective following in the genitive in gender and in definiteness: أَرْجُلُ غَيْرِ الْشَّادِقِ ‘the dishonest man’. The genitive of specification (§388 a) has no effect on whether the adjective is definite or indefinite; see §146c. Whether adjectival *dhu* is definite or indefinite is determined by the genitive (§391 a): رَجُلٌ ذُو حِلْمٍ ‘a man of reason’, أَرْجُلُ ذُو الْحِلْمِ ‘the man of reason’.

Note 2. Attributes are asyndetically coordinated (§400). Prepositional phrases and attributive clauses (§§428 ff.) may precede an attributive adjective: بِلَاءٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ عَظِيمٌ ‘a grievous trial from your Lord’ (Koran 2:49; 7:141; 14:6), حَرْثٌ ذَكْرُهُ طَوِيلٌ ‘a long report which he gave’.

§399. Attributive adjectives that appear with numerals are, irrespective of the number of the object counted, very often construed *ad sensum* in the plural: مِائَةٌ مِنْ آلَيْلِ عِشَارٍ ‘one hundred she-camels pregnant in the tenth month’, أَرْبَعُونَ رَجُلًا مُرَاقِبِينَ سِتُّونَ بُزْجًا كَبِيَارًا ‘sixty large towers’; cf. §354.

Coordination of Parts of the Sentence

§400. a) Appositional and attributive expressions are as a rule asyndetically coordinated: عَدُوٌّ مُفْسِلٌ مُبِينٌ ‘an enemy misleading, manifest’ (Koran 28:15), أَللَّهُ الْغَنِيُّ الْكَبِيرُ ‘the exalted and great God’. Dissimilar qualifications are identified as belonging together by means of *wa*- ‘and’: أَهْلُ الْعَرَبِ خَوَافِرُهُ ‘the people of Iraq, the eminent and the ordinary of them’.

Note 1. Parts that are asyndetically coordinated may appear next to each other in an adversative relationship: مَدِيْنَةٌ جَبَلَةٌ بَرَيْئَةٌ ‘a city, part mountainous, part flat’, رَجُلٌ ذَمِيمٌ حَسَنٌ الْلَّمَةٌ ‘a homely, but in hair growth handsome, man’.

b) Several adjectival predicates may be asyndetically coordinated; see §§361; 380. Other nominal predicates are usually coordinated with conjunctions, for the most part with *wa*- (§§328 ff.): هُوَ أَشْعَرُ مِنْكَ وَأَشْرَفُ ‘He is a greater poet and more honorable than you’.

§401. More than one substantive referring to different things and identified as parallel parts of the sentence are always coordinated by conjunctions, usually *wa-* (§§328 ff.): ‘**ذلِكَ عَارٍ وَسُبْتَهُ عَلَيْنَا**’ ‘This is a shame and disgrace for us’, ‘**مَرْ آلَيَامٍ وَآلَيَالِي**’ ‘the passing of the days and the nights’.

Note 1. *wa-* coordinates approximate numbers in a range: **طُولُهُ مائةَ بَاعٍ** ‘Its length is 100 to 200 fathoms’.

§402. To illustrate distributive enumeration, two asyndetically coordinated substantives may be cited, e.g.: ‘**فَأَغْطى إِنْحُوتَهُ نَاقَةً وَشَانِينَ شَانِينَ**’ ‘And so he gave his brothers each a camel and two sheep’, ‘**جَعَلَ يَشَّالِي عَنْ وَادِ وَادِ**’ ‘He began to ask me about each individual valley’; cf. §383.2.

Note 1. In distributive pairs, coordination with *fa-* has the sense of a sequence: ‘**عَامًا فَعَامًا**’ ‘year by year, every year’ (§329); with *wa-*, a sum: ‘**مِئَوْنَ وَمِئَوْنَ**’ ‘one hundred after (added to, on top of) another’, ‘**مِئَوْنَ وَمِئَوْنَ**’ ‘hundreds and hundreds more’.

§403. If a complement belongs to all of the coordinated parts of a sentence, the complement is usually mentioned only once. If the complement goes with the first part, the coordinated parts follow without the complement: ‘**كَانَ ذَا شَرِيفٍ فِي الْقَوْمِ وَفَضِيلٍ**’ ‘He was a man of distinction and standing among the people’, ‘**كُلُّ خَيْرٍ رَأَيْتُهُ وَشَرٍّ**’ ‘all the good and bad that I have seen’, ‘**كُنْمَ نَاقَةٍ مِنَ الْعَيْنِكُمْ وَنَاقَةٍ**’ ‘Indeed, there are so many (masc. and fem.) among us who take revenge on you’; — with verbs: ‘**نَمُوتُ مَعَكَ وَنَحْنِيَا**’ ‘We shall die and live with you’.

Note 1. In the coordination of the construct state, the genitive must be repeated as personal suffix; see §145 c.

Syntax: Clauses

Coordinate Clauses

§404. a) Independent clauses or subordinate clauses of equal status are coordinated by coordinating conjunctions (§§328 ff.), for the most part by *wa-* or *fa-*: ‘**فَذَ وَاللهِ رَابِنِي أَمْرَ هَذَا الْفَلَامْ وَلَا آمِنَةَ**’ ‘The behavior of this boy has, by God, filled me with suspicion, and I do not trust him’ (§189.1). A change in subject is often indicated by *fa-*: ‘**أَتَى عُزْنَ أَغْرَبِيَا فَقَالَ لَهُ**’ ‘Umar came to a Bedouin, and he (the Bedouin) said to him ...’.

b) The coordinate clause is not always parallel to the preceding clause but can be adversative: **وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ** ‘And God knows it, but you do not’ (Koran 2:216, 232; 3:66, etc.). Clauses that justify are often coordinated with *fa-* or *fa-inna* (§339), especially following exclamations and the like: **فَهُمْ أَزْكَبُ مَعَكَ إِلَى يُوسُفَ فَإِنَّهُ صَدِيقِي** ‘Come on, I will ride to Joseph with you, for he is my friend’ (§412).

Note 1. Coordination of a pair of clauses is sometimes expressed by placing parallel parts directly before and after *wa-*: **تَلْحِيمُ أَمْرًا وَأُمُورًا تُشَدِّي** ‘With one thing you make the weft, and with others you make the warp’.

§405. a) Asyndetic coordination of clauses occurs only in lively conversation, e.g., introducing direct discourse and a reply: **قَالَ ... قُلْتُ ...** ‘He said ... , I replied ... ’.

b) An asyndetically coordinated clause may follow another in apposition as an explanatory postscript: **قَتَلُوا عَنْدَ اللَّهِ ذَبْحُوهُ ذَبْحًا** ‘They killed Abdallah, indeed, they really slaughtered him’. The agent of the action may be appended after a passive verb in this way: **أَبْرَأَ آبْنَ عَمَّكَ أَسْرَرَةً بَنُو فَزَارَةً** ‘Your cousin was taken prisoner, that is, by the Banū Fazārah’.

Note 1. An explanatory afterthought may also be introduced by *wa-* or *fa-*: **قَالُوا وَاللَّهِ مَا عَرَفْنَاهُ وَضَدَّقُوا** ‘They said, By God, we did not recognize him, and they were speaking the truth’.

Note 2. Sometimes, verbs are coordinated asyndetically and form a semantic unit: **أُرْسِلْ أَغْلِفِي** ‘Send, inform me!'; also in the standard phrase introducing a tradition: **حَدَّثَنِي فُلَانُ بْنُ فُلَانٍ قَالَ** ‘So-and-so reported to me, he said’.

§406. In coordinate clauses which have one or more components in common, the shared one is usually mentioned only once: **أَدُو نَسِبٌ أَمْ أَنْتَ يَأْخِذُ** ‘Are you related or are you merely familiar with the clan?’ (§333), **عَارِفٌ** ‘Are you related or are you merely familiar with the clan?’ (§333), **نَحْنُ بِهَا عِنْدَنَا وَأَنْتَ بِهَا عِنْدَكَ رَاضٍ** ‘We are content with what we have, and you are with what you have’, **لَا سُوقٌ يَنْقِي وَلَا مَلِكٌ** ‘No subject and no king will be left alive’ (§318 b).

Coordinate Circumstantial Clauses

§407. A circumstantial clause relates a condition or action simultaneous with an event. The verb assumes its aspect capacity in the circumstantial clause, while tense is determined by the preceding independent clause: مَاتَتْ آمِنَةٌ وَهِيَ رَاجِعَةٌ إِلَى مَكَّةَ 'Aminah died while she was returning to Mecca'، قَدْ أَغْدَى وَالظَّيْرُ فِي وَكَنَابِهَا 'Sometimes I go out early in the morning, while the birds are still in their nests'.

Note 1. The coordinate particle *wa-* also connects adversative conditions (§404 b): كَيْفَ نَزَهَنُكُمْ بِنَسَاءَنَا وَأَنْتُ أَشَبُّ أَهْلِ يَثْرَبٍ 'How can we pledge our women to you, when you are Yathrib's most renowned celebrator of women in verse'.

Note 2. Although *wa-* coordinates the clauses, the circumstantial clause is nevertheless a dependent clause. Its dependency is formally marked by the subject-predicate word order in the verbal clause and functionally indicated by the verb in its aspect capacity. Pre-classical Arabic still has an independent circumstantial clause after *'inna*, which is always followed by a clause introduced by *'idh* or *'idhā* (§280): إِنَّا لَنَتَرَحَّلُ إِذْ أَقْبَلْنَا 'We were just about to set out on the journey, when you suddenly approached', إِنِّي لَيَиُ اَيْدِيهِمْ إِذْ ظَلَعَ عَلَيْهِمْ نَفَرٌ 'I was in their hands, when a group of people came suddenly upon them'. In classical usage, the conjunction that introduces the subordinate clause is *bayna-mā*, *baynā* (§444), rather than *'inna*.

§408. If the action or condition mentioned in the circumstantial clause represents an event independent of the main clause, the circumstantial clause is coordinated with *wa-* 'and': أَقْبَلَتْ عَيْرٌ وَنَحْنُ نُصَلِّي 'A caravan approached, just as we were praying'. Conversely, a predicate circumstantial clause (§§413 ff.), which occupies the position of a circumstantial accusative and is not coordinated by a conjunction, designates that the action or condition is incorporated in the action of the main clause and specifies it: أَقْبَلُوا تُغْنِيْهِمْ حَيْلَهُمْ 'They approached while their horses galloped with them'.

Note 1. When the subjects are the same in the main and the circumstantial clauses, predicate circumstantial clauses and coordinate circumstantial clauses are often equivalent. This is because it is not clear whether both actions are mutually independent or mutually inclusive, e.g., أَتَى عُمَرٌ وَهُوَ يُغْطِي الْسَّاكِنَ مِنَ الصَّدَقَةِ ‘Umar came, and as he did, he gave the poor some of the alms tax at the same time’, for which أَتَى عُمَرٌ يُغْطِي... ‘Umar came, while he gave ...’ is also possible. Still another interpretation (§431 b, ‘came in order to give’) is ruled out with coordinate circumstantial clauses.

Note 2. On occasion, coordinate circumstantial clauses may also come after *kāna* ‘be’ and verbs with related meanings (cf. §382): كُنَّا وَمَا نُصَلِّي ‘We were, and at the same time, we were not praying’, i.e., ‘At that time, we were not praying’.

§409. Coordinate circumstantial clauses may occur as follows:

a) with the imperfect indicating simultaneous action; the subject always comes immediately after *wa-*: مَرَّ بِي وَأَخْصَابَيْ يَنْظَرُونَ إِلَيْهِ ‘He passed by me, and my companions were looking at him at that same time’. A pronominal subject appears as an independent personal pronoun: لَقِيْتُ أَحْمَدَ وَهُوَ يَنْطَوِيْ إِلَيْنِيْ ‘I met Ahmad just as he was circumambulating the (holy) house’, إِجْتَازَ أَخْوَهَا وَهِيَ لَا تَعْرِفُهُ ‘Her brother passed by, but she did not recognize him’.

b) with the perfect and *qad* (§189 a) indicating an action already completed; the subject always follows the verb: فَانْتَبَّهَ وَقَدْ شَدُّوْهُ ‘Then he woke up, to find that they had tied him up’. In the negative, these clauses take *mā* with the perfect (§321) to indicate a negative condition, or *lam* with the jussive (§319) to indicate a condition that does not exist: جَاءَ زَيْدٌ وَمَا رَكِبَ ‘Zayd came, but he was not mounted’, مَاتَ وَلَمْ يُعْقِبَ ‘He died, without having left behind descendants’, يَنْجُوْتُ وَلَمْ يَنْتَغِيْعُوا سَلِيْ ‘I escaped, before they could strip me of my arms (i.e., what would have been their booty)’.

Note 1. The perfect without *qad* is very rare: أَنْوِمْ لَكَ وَأَتَبَعَكَ الْأَزَدُوْنَ ‘Shall we believe you, though the vilest followed you?’ (Koran 26:111).

c) with nominal clauses; there is nothing peculiar about the word order (§366): قُلْتُ مَتَى تَرَوْجَهَا قَالَ وَلَمْ يَعْدَنَ ‘I said, when did you marry her? He

replied, when I was in Aden', أَنْ يَذْهَلَ الْيَنِسُ وَفِيهِ آلَهَةٌ 'He did not want to enter the house while there were idols in it'; cf. also the examples in §407.

Note 2. Coordinated circumstantial sentences may follow *'illā* (§310 d).

Coordinate Clauses with the Subjunctive

§410. Clauses coordinated with the main clause by *fa-* 'and then' (§329) which indicate a possible result have the subjunctive, provided the head clause is not a statement of fact, but a wish, question, condition, negation, and the like; *fa-* has the meaning 'so that' and, after negatives, 'lest' in these constructions: *fa-ظِيمَكَ تَمْرِيزًا* 'أَلَا تَحْيِي؟' Will you not come, so that I might give you dates to eat?'; *fa-عَظَمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَى قَدْرِ عَقْلِكَ فَتَكُونُ مِنَ الْمَاهِلِينَ*, 'Do not judge the majesty of God according to your intellect, lest you then be among the doomed'; cf. §197.

Note 1. The subjunctive occurs occasionally after *wa-* and other particles (§196.2) under similar conditions: يَا لَيْتَنَا نُرَدُّ وَلَا نَكْذِبُ بِآيَاتِ رَبِّنَا 'O, that we would be brought back (from Hell), then we would not disbelieve the signs of our Lord' (Koran 6:27).

§411. After *'aw* 'or' (§331), the subjunctive presents a possible alternative ('unless, until'): لَا أَضْرِبُهُ أَوْ يَقُومُ 'I will really strike him, unless he stands up', لَا نَشْطَبِعُ أَوْ نَهْمِي 'We can do nothing else other than go away'.

Asyndetic Result Clauses with the Jussive

§412. A clause expressing the result of an imperative in the main clause has the verb in the jussive and is asyndetically joined to the main clause: إِزْخُمْ تُرْخِمْ سَمْنَ كُلْكَ يُكْلُكْ 'Fatten your dog, and he will devour you', 'Be compassionate, and someone will show compassion for you' (conditional implication: 'if you show compassion ...'; see §460). The jussive, as a rule, also follows when the result clause suggests the intent of the command or request: دَغْنِي أَذْهَبْ 'Order him, he should come!', مَرْهُ يَأْتِ 'Let me go away!', إِنْدَنْ لِي أَصْرِبْ عَقْنَهْ 'Allow me to decapitate him!'.

Note 1. Similarly, following particles of exclamation: إِيَّاكَ لَا أَفِدْ فَكَ 'Watch out, lest I hit you!' (§272.2)

Subordinate Clauses as Parts of the Main Clause

§413. Some subordinate clauses may appear in the same syntactic positions in which nominal forms function as parts of the clause. Substantive clauses introduced by *'an*, *'anna*, *mā*, clauses functioning as substantives, or relative clauses may function syntactically as substantives. Attributive and circumstantial clauses may occupy the position of adjectives. Still other subordinate clauses may appear where circumstantial adverbial phrases are otherwise found.

Substantive Clauses

§414. أَنْ ‘that’ introduces a verbal clause whose predicate is either in the subjunctive (§§196 f.), if the action is expected, or in the perfect, if the action has taken place: ‘يَتَبَغِي أَنْ تَخْذَرَ مِنْ الْفَوَاحِشِ’ ‘It is proper that you beware of abominations’, ‘عَصَى اللَّهُ أَنْ كَسَرَتِ الْأَصْلَازِ’ ‘God has foreordained that the Christian (power) be broken’. Usually, *'anna* (§415) occurs instead of *'an* with the imperfect (§196.1): ‘أَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ يَنْامُ = أَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ يَنْامُ’ ‘I know that he is sleeping’. The future particle *sa-* with the imperfect may also occur: رَعَمَ أَنْ سِرُورُكَ ‘He claimed that he would visit you’.

Note 1. *'an* is used to introduce direct discourse, if it is not indicated by قال ‘say’ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (§419 a): ‘I attest, there is no god but the (one) God’, أَرْسَلُوا إِلَيْهِمْ أَنْ رُدُّوا عَلَيْنَا إِلَيْنَا ‘They sent them word, give us back our camels!’, نَادَى مُنَادِي الْقَوْمِ أَنْ قَدْ أَتَيْتُمْ ‘One of the people called, they have come to you’.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *'an* occurs where in classical Arabic only *'anna* may, especially before a nominal clause which does not begin with the subject: تَعْلَمُ أَنْ مَا لَنَا ذَنْبٌ ‘You know that we are without guilt’; but also وَأَعْلَمُ بِأَنْ كُلُّ عَيْشٍ صَالِحٌ فَإِنْ ‘And know that every fortunate life is transitory’.

§415. أَنْ ‘that’ introduces a nominal or a copulative clause. The subject follows in the accusative (§338): ‘It is حَكِيَ أَنَّ مَلِكًا مِنْ الْهِنْدِ كَانَتْ لَهُ زَوْجَةٌ’ ‘He is told that one of the kings of India had a wife’, ‘يَرَى أَنْ بَعْدَ الْعُنْزَرِ يُشَرِّا’ ‘He thinks that after adversity comes ease’, ‘ذَلِكَ أَنَّكَ أَظْلَفْتَ عَلَى أَثْرَارِنَا’ ‘That is a result of your having found out our secrets’.

Note 1. After *'anna-mā* (§416.2), the structure of the clause is free: بَدَا لِي أَنْتَا هُوَ فَارِسٌ 'It was clear to me that he was a horseman'.

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, *'anna* may introduce an indirect question: لَا يَذْرِي أَنَّهُ كَيْفَ آتَهُ إِلَيْنَا 'He does not know how he reached us' (see §338 on the use of *أَنَّهُ* with the "pronoun of the fact").

§416. Subordinating مَا 'the fact that' (§289) introduces a verbal clause: لَا أَغْرِقَنَّ مَا أَخْرَجْتُ 'I will certainly not acknowledge that you delayed the matter', يَتَرَأَّسُ أَنْتَرَةً مَا ذَهَبَ اللَّيَالِي 'It makes a person (§358) happy that the nights pass by', عَجِبْتُ مِثَى صَرَيْتَهُ 'I was amazed that you hit him'.

Note 1. The Arab grammarians called this *mā al-masdariyyah*, because this *mā* and following verb are always replaceable by a verbal substantive (*masdar*): عَجِبْتُ مِنْ صَرَيْكَ إِنَّهُ.

Note 2. Wherever particles introducing a clause are of the type that occur in constructions with a substantive, *mā* may replace that substantive and permit any kind of following clause; see §§337.3; 344.1; cf. also §§261 f. On *الَّذِي* 'that', see §426.1.

Note 3. كَوْنُ 'being' is used in post-classical Arabic to embed clauses in complex sentences. The subject of the subordinate clause appears as a genitive of كَوْنُ, and the predicate follows in the accusative (§382) or as a predicate circumstantial clause (§431): مَنْهُ عَنْ الْرَّحْمَةِ كَوْنُهُ جَبَانًا 'The fact that he is a coward prevented him from making the journey', جَاءَ النَّاسُ إِنِّي لِنَهَاءٍ لِكَوْنِ الْوَزِيرِ كَلْمَةً 'The people came to congratulate him, because the vizier had spoken to him'.

§417. Although substantive clauses (clauses beginning with 'that') function mostly as subjects or objects, they may also serve as predicates or in apposition: لَيْسَ هَذَا بِرَأِيِّ أَنْ 'My assumption is that you will return', ظَنِّي أَنْ شَعُودٌ 'This, namely that you go away, is not a good idea'. They may also appear in the position of adverbial accusatives (§378): إِسْتَأْجَرَ قَوْمًا أَنْ 'They hired people to work for him', أَمْرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِقَتْلِهِ أَنَّهُ كَانَ قَذَ أَشْلَمٌ 'He hired people to kill him', يَمْعَلُوا لَهُ فَازَدَ مُشْرِكًا 'The Messenger of God ordered him killed, because (of the fact that) he became a Muslim and then returned to polytheism'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, after verbs expressing a negative intent, the adverbial “that”-clause has a negative sense without being explicitly negative: ‘**تَرَكَ الْأَحِبَّةَ أَنْ يُقَاتِلَ عَنْهُمْ**’ ‘He abandoned his loved ones lest he have to fight for them’.

Note 2. Clauses with *'anna* in the object position or which are dependent on a preposition governed by a verb tend to be abbreviated. Accordingly, the subject of the *'anna* clause is added directly to the main clause, and the predicate follows as if it were a predicate circumstantial clause (§434): ‘**أَرَى أَنَّ الشَّيْوَفَ سَتُشَلُّ**’ = ‘I see that the swords will one day be drawn’, ‘**أَبْكِي عَلَى أَنَّ حَبَّرَ**... = ‘**أَبْكِي عَلَى حَبَّرِ السَّمَاءِ**’ ‘out of fear that the news from heaven has been cut off’.

Note 3. Clauses with *'an*, *'anna*, *mā* may function as genitives after verbal substantives : ‘**ظَوَلَ مَا بِقَدْرِهِ أَنْ**’ ‘on the condition that’; clauses with *'an* may function as genitive or accusative: ‘**خَافَةً أَنْ**’ or ‘**خَافَةً أَنْ**’ ‘out of fear that’.

§418. a) *'an*, *'anna*, and *mā* may occur in constructions with all prepositions, e.g.: ‘**فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ إِلَى أَنْ مَاتُوا**’ ‘Then they did this until they died’, ‘**لَمْ يُشْكُ فِي أَنَّهُ أَعْمَى**’ ‘There was no doubt that he was blind’; see §437.

Note 1. Sometimes, the preposition is lacking before *'an* and *'anna* as long as there is no ambiguity: ‘**إِشْتَجَمَتْ أَنْ تَكُونُ**’ ‘She was too mute to have been able to speak’ (for §301), ‘**لَوْ نَظَرْتَ إِلَيْهَا فَإِنَّهُ أَخْرَى أَنْ يُؤْذَمْ**’ (for §301), ‘**عَنْ أَنْ يَنْتَكُمَا**’ ‘If you regarded her (with the intent of marriage), that would be most appropriate that a good relationship develop between you two’ (for §301), ‘**إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَسْتَعِي أَنْ يَصْرِبَ مَنْ لَا يَأْمُرُ**’ ‘God is not ashamed to strike a similitude’ (Koran 2:26; for §301).

b) Certain prepositional constructions with *'anna* and *mā* may assume an independent role and function as conjunctions (§344), e.g.: ‘**هَرَبَ كَمَّا مِثْلَ مَا**’ ‘He fled as if he were an ostrich’, ‘**أَرَى الْأَمْرَ كَمَّا تَرَى**’ ‘I regard the affair as you do’, ‘**كَمَّا**’, ‘as if’: ‘**كَمَّا تَرَى**’ ‘as’, ‘as if’: ‘**غُلَامٌ كَمَّا لِسَانَ ثُورٍ**’ ‘A boy whose tongue is as it were a bull’s tongue’; cf. also §365 b.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *ka-mā* also has the meaning ‘so that’ and occurs with the subjunctive: إِنْتَمْ حَدِيثًا كَمَا يَوْمًا تُحَدِّثُونَ ‘Listen to an account so that you can report it some day!'; cf. §438.1.

Clauses Functioning as Substantives

§419. a) When elements of a sentence in the form of direct or indirect speech need to be inserted, they appear without an introductory particle in the position of a substantive: أَنْزُرْوَهُ إِذَا أَغْطَيْتَ شَكَرَتْ ‘Manliness consists of this: if you are given something, you are thankful’, شَمْعَ بِالْمَعِينِيَّ خَيْرٌ لَكَ ‘It is better for you to hear about the Muaydī than to see them’, لَقَدْ عِلِّمْتُمْ مَا جِئْنَا لِنَفِيدَ الْأَرْضَ ‘You know, we did not come to ruin the land’, بَدَا لَهُمْ ... لِيَشْجُنَّهُ ‘It seemed good to them ... they should imprison him’ (Koran 12:35). Similarly, direct speech always follows ‘say’: قَالَ لَنَا إِنَّ النَّاسَ يَنْتَامُ ‘He said to us, the people are sleeping’.

Note 1. ‘anna may come after قَالَ only when it has the sense of ‘suppose’: مَئِيْ تَقُولُ أَنَّهُ مُنْظَلِّقٌ ‘When would you say he would go away’, or when the direct speech is not the object of قَالَ ‘أَوَّلُ مَا أَقُولُ أَنِّي أَخْمَدُ اللَّهَ’ ‘The first thing I shall say is that I praise God'; cf. §414.1.

b) Likewise, indirect interrogative clauses are added without conjunctions: فَنَظَرَتْ هَلْ تَرَى أَحَدًا ‘Then she looked there to determine whether she saw anyone’, مُبِيْشٌ عَلَيْنَا الْأَمْرُ أَيْنَ يَرُومُ ‘It is clear to us where the matter is headed’, سَأَلَهُ عَنِ الْأَضْحِيَّةِ أَوْاجِبَةً لَا ‘He asked him about the sacrifice, whether or not it was obligatory' (§333).

Note 2. Notice the different possible treatments of ‘ayyun (§286) as subject of the interrogative clause, depending on whether it is classified as part of the main clause or remains in the nominative as part of the interrogative clause: لَمْ يَتَقَوَّا عَلَى أَيْهُمْ أَشَعَرُ or لَمْ يَتَقَوَّا عَلَى أَيْهُمْ أَشَعَرْ ‘They did not agree on which of them was the better poet’.

§420. Substantives referring to time are followed by substantivized clauses without subordinating particles in the position of a genitive: ذَاكَ أَوَانُ أَبْصَرَتْ ‘That was the right time that you saw the road’, بَعْدَ عَامَ لَقِيْتُهُمْ ‘after the year in which I met them’. The unrestricted use of such constructions

in all syntactic positions is possible in early stages of the language. Later, usage was restricted to the adverbial accusative: **أَخْطَأَهُ شَهِيْرٌ زَمِنْتُ** ‘My arrow missed him when I shot it’; see §346.

Relative Clauses as Substantives

§421. Relative clauses functioning as substantives are introduced by مَنْ ‘who’ ('one who', people who'), مَا ‘what' ('something that'), or الَّذِي 'the one who, one which' (§§289; 281). The relative pronoun appears in the sentence where a substantive would be and may function as subject or predicate, as object, and may occupy the position of a genitive: Aws is one whom you know’, ‘They say with their mouths what is not in their hearts’ (Koran 3:167), ‘Do what seems good to you!'; also in the vocative: ‘O you who believe’.

Note 1. (§281.2) may also be a relative pronoun: كُنْ ذُو يَتَّخِرْ ‘Be the one who falls behind’.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *man* and *mā* may stand in apposition: وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ مَنْ شَيْعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ كَثِيرٌ ‘And the Muslims, the ones who follow the Messenger of God, are many’. In constructions with *min*, relative pronouns are used for appositional clarification (§299 a): مُدَانَةٌ مُعْتَدَةٌ بِمَا يَحْيِيُ ‘Thirty men, driven out by poverty’, أَخْرَجَهُ آخَاجَهُ ‘Aged wine, what the merchants bring’.

§422. The relative pronoun is always the subject of a compound clause (§368), which, as a relative clause, has a copulative personal pronoun like the predicate of a compound sentence: يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ مَنْ هُوَ فِي ضَلَالٍ مُبِينٍ ‘God knows who has strayed into unmistakable error’, اِتَّقَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَا تَظَلَّلُونَ ‘God knows what you do when you go astray’, مَا وَجَدْتُ مِرْكَبًا قَبْلَ الَّذِي، اِلَّا نَسَّ ‘He agreed as to what the people asked’, اِنْتَيْتُ بِهِ ‘I did not find any ship before the one in which I came’. The copulative pronoun may also appear in a subordinate clause governed by the relative clause: فَالَّتِي يَقُولُ اَنَّهَا آخِبَةٌ هِيَ النَّارُ ‘Therefore that which he says would be Paradise is (in reality) Hellfire’. The copulative pronoun may be lacking according to the conditions mentioned in §370: هُوَ الَّذِي فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ، اِلَّا وَفِي الْأَرْضِ إِلَهٌ ‘He is the one who is God in heaven and God on earth’

(Koran 43:84) ‘أَسْجُدُ لِمَنْ خَلَقْتُ طِينًا’ ‘Shall I bow myself to the one You have created of clay?’ (Koran 17:61).

Note 1. If the relative clause is dependent on a preposition which must be repeated in the relative clause in combination with the copulative pronoun, the prepositions together with the personal suffix may be omitted in the relative clause: أَظْلَبُ الْقَوْمَ بِالَّذِي أَصْبَثْتَ ‘Seek revenge on those people for what happened to you’ (where يُ is omitted).

Note 2. If the copulative pronoun refers to a 1st or 2nd person in the main clause, this person also appears frequently in the relative clause: نَحْنُ أَذْدِينَ إِذَا رُجِرْنَا آشْقَدْنَا ‘We are the ones who, if driven back, moved forward’; cf. also §429.2.

§423. مَنْ ‘who’ is used to refer to persons and is usually treated as a masculine singular, even when it refers to a female or to several people: كَانَتْ إِخْدَى مَنْ آتَهُمْ بِهِ مِنْ أَهْوَارِي ‘She was one of the slave-girls whom he suspected’ (§425 c), مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ ‘Among them was one who believed in him’, مَنْ تَبَعَ هُدَى فَلَا خُوفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ ‘Whoever follows my guidance has nothing to fear’. Nevertheless, the construction may have *ad sensum* agreement: كَانَتْ فِيهِنَّ ضُرِبَ عَلَيْهَا الْحِجَابُ ‘She was among those before whom the screen was erected’, مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَشْتَمِعُونَ إِلَيْكُ ‘Among them there are some who listen to you’ (Koran 10:42).

§424. مَا ‘what’ is used for things and is masculine singular: هَذَا مَا كَنَزْتُمْ لِأَنفُسِكُمْ ‘This is what you have amassed for yourselves’. Sometimes it is used to refer to groups of people: مَا قَتَلَ الْأَمِيرُ صَبَرًا ‘That which (i.e., those whom) the prince had killed in captivity’ (cf. 425 c).

Note 1. See §416 on subordinating *mā* ‘the fact that’.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *mā* is used for emphasis. The emphasized word comes at the beginning of the sentence and is followed by a clause introduced by *mā*: فَارِسٌ مَا غَادَرُوا ‘It is a horseman that they have left behind’, It is for good luck that man was created’. In many cases, however, *mā* is syntactically unimportant and is placed before the emphasized word as an expletive: فَأَذْهِي مَا إِلَيْكِ ‘So go away!’ (§303.4), إِنْ أَكَ مَا شَيْخًا كَيْرًا ‘if I became, so to speak, a very old man’.

§425. a) Relative clauses with مَّا مَنْ and مَّا are as a rule indefinite. As such, they may occur in the position of a generic genitive (§387 a): كُلُّ مَا يَتَغَيِّرُ: ‘all that changes’, شَرٌّ مِنْ خَلْقِ اللَّهِ: ‘the most evil one that God has created’, كَثِيرٌ مَا وَهَبُوا: ‘much of what they gave’. They also appear as qualifying genitives: أَمْرٌ مَا تَخَذَّلُ: ‘You do not think what we think’, مَا تَرَى مَا تَرَى: ‘the matter of which you are wary’ (§392.2).

b) Relative *man* and *mā* are used in paronomastic constructions to express uncertainty: جَمَعْتُ مَا جَمَعْتُ: ‘I gathered what I gathered, i.e., a certain quantity’, هُمْ مَا هُمْ: ‘They are what they are’, i.e., ‘they represent something’, نَزَلَ مِنْ نَزَلٍ مِنْهُمْ: ‘Some of them came down’, نَمَكِثْتُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ: ‘Then he dwelled for as long as God willed’.

c) Frequently, partitive *min* (§299 b) is added to relative *man* and *mā*: فَأَعْطَانِي مَا كَانَ عِنْدَهُ مِنْ خُبْزٍ: ‘Then he gave me what he had of bread’, i.e., ‘the bread that he had’, مَنْ دَخَلَ آلَّا سَامِ مِنْ الْعَرَبِ: ‘Those Arabs who entered Syria’. In this case, *mā* often refers to groups of people: فَانِكِحُوهَا مَا طَابَ: ‘So marry such women as seem good to you’ (Koran 4:3).

Note 1. On relative clauses with conditional implication, see §461.

§426. الَّذِي introduces definite relative clauses. According to the subject referred to, the relative pronoun may be singular, dual, or plural and masculine or feminine (§281): فَذَلِكَ مَا قُلْتُمْ: ‘What you said reached our ears’, أَخَسَبْتُ أَنَّهَا الَّتِي ذَكَرْهَا: ‘I think that it is she whom he mentioned’, نَحْنُ الَّذِينَ بَكَوْلَاهُ: ‘We are the ones who cried for him’.

Note 1. On occasion, الَّذِي occurs in the role of introductory *mā* (§416), especially in constructions with *ka-* (§297): فَصَلَوَاتُ الَّذِي كَانُوا يَفْعَلُونَ: ‘Then they prayed as they used to do’, as well as in the post-classical phrase: أَخْمَدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي: ‘Thank God that ...’.

§427. Other interrogatives (§289) are also used as relatives: عَرَفَ الْمُكَبِّدَةَ: ‘He knew the trick and how the king employed it’, وَكَيْفَ كَانَ الْمُكَبِّدُ أَوْعَظَهُ: ‘By God, we do not care where he went’; cf. also §419b.

Attributive Relative Clauses

§428. An attributive relative clause occupies the position of an attributive adjective (§398). In attributive relative clauses, the governing substantive (*regens*) replaces the relative pronoun: رَجُلٌ قَدْ ضَرَبَنِي ‘a man who struck me’ (cf. مَنْ قَدْ ضَرَبَنِي ‘one who struck me’). Like the attributive, the clause agrees with the *regens* in (in)definiteness. أَلَّذِي (§281) is used to make the clause definite. For its part, agrees with respect to gender (number) and case with the *regens*: أَلَّرَجُلُ الَّذِي قَدْ ضَرَبَنِي ‘the man who struck me’, أَلَّقَوْمُ الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ ‘people who believe’, definite قَوْمٌ يُؤْمِنُونَ ‘people who believe’. تَلَاهَا إِلَى الْجِبَالِ هُرَبَا إِنْ وَلَدَنِي الَّذِينَ قَتَلَاهُ ‘Thereupon his two sons, who had murdered him, fled into the mountains’.

Note 1. When there is generic definiteness, the attributive clause is not always explicitly defined: أَنْتَ الْوَزِيرُ لَا يَعْصِي ‘You are the vizier who is not disobeyed’, هُمُ الْفَوَارِسُ يَحْمُونَ النِّسَاءَ ‘They are the horsemen who protect the women’.

§429. In an attributive relative clause, the copulative personal pronoun refers to the *regens*. In an indefinite relative clause, the pronoun appears as a rule; in a definite relative clause, it may, under the circumstances mentioned in §370, be dropped: إِنَّهَا كَانَ بِالْكُوفَةِ بَئِي مَسْجِدًا هُوَ بِهَا إِلَيْآتِيَوم ‘When he was in Kufah, he built a mosque, which stands there even today’, رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا أَغْنَى يَقُودُهُ شَابٌ ‘I saw a blind man whom a youth was leading’, إِنَّ الْرَّجُلَ الَّذِي طَلَبْتَ بِالْبَابِ ‘The man whom you seek is at the door’.

Note 1. The copulative pronoun may also appear in a clause subordinate to a relative clause: قَدْ قَرَبَ إِلَيْهِ الْجَنِيشُ الَّذِي ظَلَّ أَنَّهُ بَعِيدٌ ‘The army that he thought was distant drew near him’.

Note 2. The 1st and 2nd persons appearing in the main clause may reappear in indefinite relative clauses and sometimes in definite relative clauses (§422.2): أَنْتَ آدُمُ الَّذِي، أَنْتُمْ قَوْمٌ تَخْهِلُونَ ‘You are people who are ignorant’, أَنْتَ آدُمُ الَّذِي، أَغْوَيْتَ الْأَنْشَاءَ ‘You are Adam, who misled mankind’.

§430. a) In an attributive relative clause with an adjectival predicate, the adjective immediately follows the *regens* and agrees with it in case and definiteness; however, it agrees in gender (number) with the appropri-

ate subject coming afterward. That subject takes a copulative pronoun: قَوْمٌ شَدِيدَةٌ 'I saw a woman whose face was pretty', حَسَنًا وَجْهُهَا 'people whose harmfulness is severe', الْتَّوَارِيخُ الْآتَيَ ذِكْرُهَا 'the to-be-mentioned chronicles'.

Note 1. At times, the copulative pronoun appears with another part of the clause: هُوَ الْحَجَرُ الْأَرَامِيُّ بِهِ اللَّهُ مَنْ رَأَى 'That is the stone which God throws at the one whom he wishes to throw it at'.

b) This kind of relative clause may also function as a substantive: إِنَّمَا أَصَدَقَاتُ لِلْفُقَرَاءِ... وَالْمُؤْمِنَةُ عَيْنُهُ 'one whose eyes are reddened', وَالْمُؤْمِنَةُ قُلُوبُهُنَّ 'The alms are only for the poor ... and those whose hearts should be made to tend (to Islam)' (Koran 9:60).

Predicate Circumstantial Clauses

§431. a) Circumstantial clauses, which modify and complement the governing verb (cf. §§202 c; 408), occupy the position of the circumstantial accusative (§§380 ff.): بَعَثَ إِلَيْ مُعَاوِيَةَ يَطْلُبُ الْأَصْلَحَ 'He sent to Mu'awiyah to ask for peace', دَخَلَ الْبَيْتَ لَا تُسْلِمُ عَلَيَ 'He entered the room without greeting me'.

b) With the imperfect, the circumstantial clause indicates action or intent that is conceived to be simultaneous with or following the action expressed by the governing verb: ثُمَّ نَرَأَتْ شَاهِنَةَ تَغْسِلُ 'Then she removed her garments in order to bathe', خَرَجْتُ أَنَا وَابْنِي تَصَيِّدُ 'I went out with my father with the intention of hunting'. — The perfect, sometimes with *qad*, indicates a condition that already obtains: جَاؤُوكُمْ حَصِيرَتْ صُدُورُهُمْ 'They came to you with their breasts constricted' (Koran 4:90). See §435 on nominal clauses.

c) If the subject of the circumstantial clause is different from that of the main clause, a copulative personal pronoun refers to the subject of the main clause: أَقْبَلُوا تُفِيقُ بِهِمْ حَيْلَهُمْ 'They approached while their horses galloped with them'.

§432. Very often circumstantial clauses are governed by verbs whose literal meanings have faded and which have come to indicate merely *Aktionsarten*, or modes of action (§190).

a) 'begin': 'بَيْعَانِي أَخْدَرْتُهُمْ' 'I began to warn them', 'أَخْدَرْتُهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ' 'He began to blame him', 'فِي لَقْوْمٍ يَرْجِعُونَ' 'Suddenly the people returned'.

b) 'become': 'فَأَصْبَحَ الْأَنْسَابُ يَضْحَكُونَ بِهِ' 'Then it came to the point that the people laughed at him', 'أُمِّي قَدْ آنْتَطَعَ الْخَلْبُ يَتَنَاهُ وَيَنْتَهُ' 'I shall end up such that the bond between him and me will have been severed'.

c) 'persist': 'يَظْلِلُ يَتَبَعَّهَا' 'He persisted in following her', 'مُكْثُ عَمَّانَ ثَلَاثَةً' 'Uthman remained for three days without being buried', 'أَيَّامٌ لَمْ يَذْفَنْ'.

d) 'repeat': 'لَمْ يَعْوُدُوا يَغْرِفُونَهُ' 'They no longer recognized him'; cf. also §446.2.

Note 1. This kind of construction is extended to some other semantically related verbs, which occur in combination with 'an clauses (§414), so that both constructions may be used interchangeably: كَادَ النَّعَامُ أَنْ يَطِيرَ or أَرَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَهُ or أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَقْتُلُوهُ 'The ostrich can almost fly', 'They wanted to kill him'.

§433. A predicate circumstantial clause following the verb may refer to the object, just as a circumstantial accusative in the same position refers to the object (§381): 'أَكْتُبُ قَدْ صَدَقْتُ' 'I consider myself to have spoken the truth', 'وَجَدَ الْبَابَ قَدْ فُتِحَ' 'He found the door already opened', 'شَهِدْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَقْرَأُ' 'I witnessed the Messenger of God reading', 'أَبْعَثُ إِلَيْكُ أخْتَنَا تَكُونُ مَعَكَ' 'I shall send our sister so that she will be with you'.

Note 1. The subject of the circumstantial clause may also in this case be different from the object of the main clause: 'تَرَى رَأِيَ تَغَيَّرَ لَوْنُهُ شَطَا' 'You see that the color of my head has changed to gray'.

Note 2. The verb of the circumstantial clause may refer to two nouns and, as such, is in the dual: 'تَرَكَ عَزْوَةً مَعَ عَفْرَاءَ يَسْهَدَانِ' 'He left Urwah with Afra chatting with each other'.

§434. After verbs of sense perception or intellectual activity, substantive clauses which describe an event take the form of a circumstantial clause, and introductory 'anna' is dropped (§417.2): 'سَمِعْتُ مَوْلَاكَ قَالَ لَكَ بَاسًا' 'I heard that your client said something bad to you', 'رَأَيْتُ عَمْرًا فِي النَّعَامِ كَسَانِي رِدَاءَهُ'.

'I saw in the dream that Amr covered me in his robe', 'We know that the enemy of God died', 'It was reported to me that she said ...'.

Note 1. After *mā li-* (§285.1) and *mā bālu-* 'why ...?', an asyndetic clause follows instead of the circumstantial accusative: 'مَا لِي لَمْ أَشْنَعْ يُكَلَّ', 'Why did I not hear of you?', 'مَا بَالْ غَنِيمَكَ مِنْهَا آتَاهُ يَنْسَكِبُ', 'Why is water pouring down from your eye?'.

§435. a) Predicate nominal clauses describe the condition of the subject or object: 'كُنْتُ أُمْشِي مَعَهُ يَدَهُ فِي يَدِي', 'I used to walk with him, while his hand was in mine'; referring to the object: 'لَقِيْتُ عَلَيْهِ جَبَّةً وَشَنِيْ', 'I met him when he was wearing an ornate jacket'.

Note 1. Nominal clauses may appear in apposition to a circumstantial accusative: 'إِنَّ الْمُنْكَلَةَ تَصِيرُ مُخْتَلِفَةً بِفُضْلِهَا قَوِيٌّ وَبِفُضْلِهَا ضَعِيفٌ', 'The kingdom will become diverse, partly strong and partly weak'.

b) If it comes at the beginning of the clause, the subject of the predicate nominal clause may appear in the circumstantial accusative: 'كُنْتُ أُمْشِي مَعَهُ يَدَهُ فِي يَدِي', 'I used to walk with him hand in hand'. Similarly, an adjectival predicate tends to come at the beginning and then is inserted as a circumstantial accusative in the main clause (§380): 'رَأَيْتُ عَمْرًا مَجْمُوعَةً يَدَاهُ', 'I saw Amr, his hands tied with a rope to his neck' (§356 b), 'لَقَرَرَ إِلَيْهِ بَعْدَ حَرَقِ عَيْنِهِ مَضْرُوفًا عَنْهُ وَجْهُهُ', 'He looked at him out of the corner of his eye with his face turned away', 'إِنَّ حَاجَتَكَ تُفْصَى كَائِنَةً مَا كَانَتْ', 'Your request will be fulfilled, whatever it be'.

Appositional Circumstantial Clauses

§436. In apposition, a circumstantial clause indicates a temporary condition of the *regens*: 'لِمَنْ آلَيْا زَغْشِيْهَا', 'Whose are the dwellings that I have come to?' (Beginning of an old Arabic *qasidah*), 'كَمِثْلِ الْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَنْسَافِيْزا', 'like the ass that is carrying books' (Koran 62:5).

Adverbial Clauses

§437. Numerous subordinate clauses occupy the position of circumstantial adverbial expressions. Among them are substantive clauses that are depen-

ما رأيناها لأنَّه ماتَ مِنْ قَبْلُ يَا كَرِهَنَا قَبْلَ مَا 'We did not see him any more, because he had died before', 'We did not see him any more, because he had died before'، 'I came to her early, before morning appeared to us', 'I came to her early, before morning appeared to us', 'We were tormented before you came and after you came', 'We were tormented before you came and after you came', 'Our Lord, do not cause our hearts to stray after you have guided us right!' (Koran 3:8) (§344.2), 'They bound him tight as soon as he woke up'; cf. §418.

Note 1. See §§346; 420 on the adverbial accusative with genitive clauses. On *mundhu*, *mudh* 'since' §300, *ladun* ('an) 'since' §306, *qabla* 'before' §346.1.

§438. Clauses expressing intent or purpose are introduced by *li-*, *li-an* (§295) or *kay*, *li-kay* 'so that, in order to' and the subjunctive (§196): أَرَادَ أَنْ لَآخْذُكَ لِأَفْتَكَ 'I did not seize you with the intent of killing you', 'He wanted to frighten me, so that I would not return', يُشْوِقُ قَلْبِي إِلَيْكُمْ كَيْنَى يَلْاقِيْكُمْ 'My heart longs for you, in order to meet with you'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperfect sometimes comes after *kay-mā* (§345.1) and *ka-mā* (§418.2) 'so that, in order to': لِكَيْنَمَا تَقُولُ 'so that she says'.

Note 2. It may happen that a clause expressing intent is coordinated with a circumstantial accusative (§380.1): إِنَّمَا خَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ مُزْهِبًا لِلْعَدُوِّ وَلِيَتَعَلَّمُهُمْ 'The Messenger of God went out only to threaten the enemy and to let them know ...'.

Note 3. لَمْ يَكُنْ لِ مَا كَانَ لِ means 'not inclined to, not apt to, not in a position to do something, not capable of doing something': 'I was incapable of touching her'.

§439. a) شَارَوْا حَتَّىٰ ظَلَقَتِ الْشَّمْسُ (§304) 'until, as long as': They traveled until the sun came up', 'He remained alive until he reached the caliphate of Abū Bakr', i.e., 'He lived to see the caliphate of Abū Bakr'; 'to the extent that, so much that': عَئِّدَهُ ذَلِكَ حَتَّىٰ 'That saddened him so much that he refused to eat break-

fast', 'What did she do to deserve to be killed?'; sometimes the consecutive 'so that': 'رأيْتُ آلسَّمَاءَ أَفْرَجْتُ لِي حَتَّى دَخَلْنَا' 'I saw that Heaven was parted for me so that I could enter it'. Frequently, *hattā* leads up to a concluding action, 'until eventually, thereupon, finally': 'لَمْ يَفْعُلْ حَتَّى أَغْلَقَ بَابَهُ فِي وَجْهِهِ' 'He did nothing, until finally he closed the door in his face', 'خَرَجَ حَتَّى قَعَدَ إِلَيْنَا' 'He came out and thereupon sat at the fire'.

Note 1. After negative clauses, *hattā* has the sense of 'before, not even ... when': 'لَمْ أَتَكُمْ حَتَّى أَشْتَيْ كُبْكُمْ ... مَا بَلَغْتُ مَا أَنْتَ بِهِ أَنْتَ' 'I had not come to you before your letters reached me'. It is also used to introduce a sudden occurrence: 'مَا بَلَغْتُ مَا بَلَغْتُ أَنْتَ بَلَغْتَ حَتَّى سَعَتْ' 'I had not yet reached the door when I heard ...'.

b) Statements of fact follow *hattā* in the perfect, infrequently in the imperfect or as nominal clauses: 'يُغْشَوْنَ حَتَّى لَا يَكُلَّهُمْ' 'They are visited so often that their dogs do not snarl'. Expected or intended actions are described in the subjunctive (§196): 'فَاضْرِبُوا حَتَّى يَحْكُمَ اللَّهُ يَنْتَهِ لَا يَبْدُ مِنَ الْتَّأْمِيلِ قَبْلَ' 'Be patient until God will judge between us' (Koran 7:87), 'الْكَلَامُ حَتَّى يَكُونَ صَوَابًا' 'We must meditate before we speak, in order that our words may be appropriate'.

Note 2. A clause introduced by *inna* (§339) and by *ka'anna* (§365) may follow *hattā*.

§440. a) *hattā* frequently precedes a clause introduced by *idhā* 'لَيْسَتِ الْتَّوْبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ آثَارَاتٍ حَتَّى إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدُهُمْ آتَوْنُهُ قَالَ' (§464): 'إِنِّي تُبَتْ' 'There is no repentance for those who do evil deeds until, when one of them is visited by death, he says, indeed I repent' (Koran 4:18). *idhā* after *hattā* usually has a temporal function without the conditional implication common in *idhā*-clauses (§445); as a rule, the perfect comes after *hattā* *idhā*: 'لَمْ تَرَلْ سَلْمَى مُعَايِنَةً لِتَسْعِدْ حَتَّى إِذَا أَضْبَخَتْ أَنَّهُ وَصَاحِبُهُ' 'Salmā remained angry at Sa'd; finally, however, when morning came, she went to him and reconciled', 'إِنْصَرَفَ إِلَى مَنْزِلِهِ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ مِنَ الْقَدِيرِ خَرَجَ' 'He went to his dwelling and, when the next morning arrived, came back out'.

Note 1. *idhā-mā* (§465) may also follow *hattā*.

b) Often the continuation of the *hattā* clause is lacking after the *idhā*-clause. As a result, *hattā* *idhā* as a fixed construction has the meaning 'until finally': فَرَجُوا حَتَّىٰ إِذَا كَانُوا عَلَىٰ آرَاجِيعٍ فَنَدَرُوا فِيهِ 'Then they went out until at last they were before al-Rajī', and then they betrayed him', دَهَبَ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا كَانَ آتِيَّوْمُ الْثَالِثُ 'They went away until the third day arrived', لَقِدْ صَدَقْكُمُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُ... حَتَّىٰ إِذَا فَشَلْتُمْ 'God has been true in his promise towards you, ...until you finally lost heart' (Koran 3:152).

§441. 'where' begins adverbial subordinate clauses: زَمِينٍ بِسَهْلٍ حَيْثُ شَيْعَ الْجِنْ 'He shot the arrow where he had heard the sound'; — to substantiate or restrict, 'such that, as, inasmuch as': غَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ حَيْثُ لَمْ يَتَعَظُوا 'God was angry at them inasmuch as they would not be admonished'. Prepositions like *bi-*, *min*, *ilā*, among others, come before *haythu* for clarity: حَدَّدْتُ حَيْثُ يُشَتَّعُ الْهَدَاءُ 'I provoked where it was listened to', أَلْجِنْتُ الْجِنْ مِنْ حَيْثُ هُوَ جِنْ 'the body insofar as it is a body', i.e., 'the body as body, the body *qua* body'.

Note 1. As with relative clauses (§§421 ff.), a copulative personal pronoun may on rare occasion come after *haythu*, or *haythu* may appear with partitive *min* (§425 c): أَرَدْتُ الْأَنْصَارَفَ إِلَى حَيْثُ أَقْبَلْتُ مِنْهُ 'I wanted to go back to where I had come from', إِرْعَوْا مِنْ أَرْضَنَا حَيْثُ شِئْتُ 'Graze in our land wherever you wish' (with conditional implication: §461.1).

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, the subordinate clause is at times reduced to just a subject: دَحَلْتُ حَيْثُ الْقَبْرُ 'I went into where the grave was', مِنْ حَيْثُ الصُّورَةُ 'from there where the form is', i.e., 'as to, with respect to, concerning the form'.

§442. a) إِذْ 'when, as' (§280), as a conjunction, indicates a particular time, usually in the past: قَدْ ظَلَّمْتُهُمْ إِذْ حَبَشْتُهُمْ 'You treated them wrongly when you imprisoned them', إِذْ يَتَقَوَّنُ بِي الْأَسْتَهْلِمْ 'As (while) they protected themselves with me from the spear-tips, I did not recoil like a coward'; — sometimes also in the future or present: هَلْ يَسْمَعُونَكُمْ إِذْ تَدْعُونَ 'Do they hear you when you call?', يَا لَيْتِنِي أَكُونُ حَيَاً إِذْ يُخْرِجُكَ قَوْمَكَ 'If only I could be alive when your people drive you out'.

b) Not infrequently, especially in post-classical Arabic, *'idh* expresses a reason and means ‘since, because’: أَنْتِ إِذْ لَمْ تُضْلِحِي لِأَبِيكَ لَا تُضْلِحِينَ لِي ‘You, since you did not treat your father kindly, will not treat me kindly’.

Note 1. In the Koran (2:126; 14:35), *'idh* sometimes begins a main clause and indicates a time in the past, ‘once, at one time’: وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ رَبَّنَا آجُنْعَلُ هَذَا الْبَلْدَ آمِنًا ‘And once Abraham said: My Lord, make this place safe! ’.

§443. **لَمَّا أَنْ or لَمَّا** ‘when, after’ followed by the perfect introduces an action that is a precondition of what takes place in the main clause: لَمَّا رَمَتِي ذَنَانِي مَيْ ‘When she shot at me, she hit me with her arrow’, لَمَّا دَنَّا فَلَطَّمَنِي ‘After he had drawn near me, he raised his hand and slapped me’; — sometimes giving a reason: لَمَّا يَكُنْ لِي خُصُوصٌ مَفْصُودٌ لَمْ يَنْلُغْ فِيهِ الْقَاتِيَةُ ‘Since (because) his searching had no aim, he did not reach with it the final objective’.

Note 1. The main clause sometimes begins with *'idhā* (§280) or *fa-* (§329): لَمَّا بَرَزُوا إِذَا هُمْ يَقْفِدُونَ سَبْعِينَ رَجُلًا ‘When they emerged, they were missing seventy men’.

§444. **بَيْنَما** ‘while’ begins a circumstantial clause (§§407.2; 409). The subject comes immediately after *bayna-mā*, *baynā*; the subsequent main clause is often introduced by *'idh*, and occasionally by *fa-* or *fa->'idhā* (§280): بَيْنَما أَنَا ذَاقْتُ يَوْمَ جَالِسٍ أَفْتَثَتْ عَلَيَّ ‘While I sat there one day, she approached me’, بَيْنَما نَحْنُ نَمْشِي إِذْ عَرَضَ رَجُلٌ ‘While we were walking along, a man suddenly appeared’, بَيْنَما الْأَنْاسُ قَدْ أَجْتَمَعُوا لِلْحَزِبِ تَدَاعَوْا إِلَى الْصَّلْحِ ‘While they resolved to go to war, they suddenly called upon one another for peace’.

Note 1. The subordinate clause is sometimes reduced to just a subject: بَيْنَما صَلَادَةُ الْعَصْرِ إِذْ أَنْصَرْتُ الْشَّكِينَ ‘While it was afternoon prayer, I caught sight of the poor man’, بَيْنَمَا ذَاكَ ‘meanwhile’.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, the suffix of the 3rd masculine is occasionally added: بَيْنَاهُمْ ‘while he ...’, بَيْنَاهُمْ ‘while they ...’.

Note 3. In post-classical Arabic, the perfect (without *qad*) occurs.

Conditional Sentences

§445. a) There are two types of conditional sentences in Arabic: 1. real (or valid) conditional sentences, in which the protasis presents a statement of fact that is believed to be generally valid and realizable at any time as the precondition or premise (introductory particle *'in* §§450 ff.); 2. unreal (or unfulfilled, hypothetical) conditional sentences, in which the protasis presents a specific hypothetical situation or action as the presupposition (introductory particle *law* §§453 ff.). To be included among the former type are also sentences with conditional implication (§§460 ff.), in which again a statement of fact that is universally accepted as such is given as the premise.

b) As a rule, the protasis precedes the apodosis (main clause). Variations from this order are, however, not unusual: لَمْ يَجُوَّثْ إِنْ تَجَّا: 'May I not be saved, if he is saved!', إِنِّي أَجْبَثُ لَوْ سَأَلْتَنِي: 'I would have answered, if you had only asked me'.

Note 1. When dependent on introductory particles like *'inna* (§338), the subject of the protasis may appear before the conjunction at the beginning of the sentence: إِنِّي كُلُّمَا دَعَوْتُهُمْ لِتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ بَعْثَمْ فِي آذِنِهِمْ 'Whenever I call them that You might forgive them, they put their fingers into their ears' (Koran 71:7). The subject of the apodosis may also come before the conjunction: أَنَا لَوْ ذَهَبْتُ مَالِي لَبَلَشْتُ قَاتِشَا 'Should my possessions disappear, I would sit down as a story teller'.

§446. a) In conditional sentences and sentences with conditional implication, the statement of fact in the premise (i.e., in the protasis), as it is generally valid and not restricted in time, is described in the jussive or perfect. In the apodosis, the verb is also in the jussive or perfect, insofar as it contains a generally valid result: مَئِي تَغْجَلْ شَدَّمْ 'Whenever you are hasty, you will regret it', مَنْ خَالَ نَالَ 'He who roams will reach something'. For negative sentences, *lam* with the jussive is used: إِنْ لَمْ يَنْرَخْ لَمْ أَزْضَ 'If he does not vanish, I shall not be content'.

b) In sentences with conditional implication, *kāna*, indicating the past, usually appears at the beginning of the sentence before the conjunction and indicates that the entire sentence is in the past. As a rule, *kāna* agrees

with the subject of the protasis: كُنْتَ مَتَّى تُخِيلُ خَصِيمَكَ يَجْهَلُ 'Whenever you considered your adversary stupid, he was'; see also §464 b. Sometimes *kāna* indicating the past appears before 'in'.

Note 1. Verbs that indicate mode of action (§432) are also used on occasion to indicate the past; in the apodosis the general perfect appears instead of the predicate imperfect: بَعْدَ كُلُّمَا مَرَّ بِنَا مِنْ الْأَغْرِبِ بِطَرِيقِ الْشَّامِ أَحَدٌ مِنْ أَشْرَافِهِمْ 'Then he began, whenever he passed by a tribe of the 'Arabs on the road to Syria, to enter into a relationship with the distinguished among them'.

§447. The apodosis, which follows the protasis, is introduced by particles under the following specific circumstances:

a) *fa-* (§329) begins the apodosis after 'in' and after clauses with conditional implication, if the apodosis does not contain a generally valid statement in the jussive, perfect, or imperfect; i.e., *fa-* comes: 1. before nominal and copulative clauses (§§360 ff.): إِنْ تَسْخِرُوا مِنَّا فَإِنَّا نَسْخَرُ 'If you scoff at us, we shall surely scoff at you, as you scoff' (Koran 11:38), 'إِذَا أَتَيْنَا سَاعِلِينَ فَلَيْسَ مِنَ الْأَشْحَاءِ' 'When we come asking, he is not among the stingy', 'إِنْ فَعَلْتَ ذَلِكَ فَنَعِمَ الْفَتَى أَنْتَ' 'If you do that, you are an admirable young man indeed' (§§259 f.); 2. before clauses containing commands and prohibitions: إِذَا رَأَيْتَنِي أَزْمِرْ فَلَا تَدْخُلْ 'If you see me making a sign, do not enter!', 'فِي أَيِّ أَرْضٍ شَيْئَتْ فَأَنْزِلْ' 'In whatever land you wish, settle!'; 3. before the future particles *sawfa*, *sa-*, *lan* (§187): إِنْ عَادْ فَلَنْ يَلْقَانِي 'If you return, you will not encounter me'; 4. before the verbal particle *qad* (§189) and عَسَى 'it could be, perhaps' (§342.2): إِنْ أَشْلَمُوا فَقَدِ آهَنَدُوا 'If they become Muslims, they are rightly guided'; 5. before an abbreviated apodosis (§448) and in most cases before an apodosis that does not contain a direct logical conclusion (§449).

b) *la-* (§334) generally begins the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence: لَوْ لَمْ أَغْرِفْهُ لَسَأْلُ عَنْهُ 'If I had not known him, I would have asked about him', 'لَوْ أَتَيْتَنِي فِيكُمْ لَرَأَيْتَ مِنْكُمْ شَرًّا' 'Had I been with you, I would have experienced your evilness'. In real conditional clauses, *la-* tends to be used



in both the protasis and the apodosis, and *fa-* is not used to introduce the apodosis: 'إِنْ كُنْتَ حَادِقًا لَقَدْ قَتَّلْتَنِي وَإِنْ كُنْتَ كَاذِبًا لَقَدْ فَسَخْتَنِي' If you are truthful, you have killed me; but if you are a liar, you have exposed me'.

Note 1. Sometimes, *idhan* 'then' (§284 b) introduces the apodosis: **لُوْ خَلَدْ** **أَلْثُلُوكُ إِذَا خَلَدْنَا** 'If kings lived forever, so would we'. It is typically also found in the apodosis of a sentence with an unspoken protasis: **لَا أَتَبْعِي أَهْوَاءَكُمْ قَدْ ضَلَّلْتُ إِذَا** 'I do not follow your caprices; (if I did,) I would fall into error'.

§448. The apodosis may be abbreviated, if the missing component of the clause can be inferred from the protasis (cf. §406). It is then introduced by *fa-*: 'إِنْ يَكُنْ فِي أَحَدٍ مِنْكُمْ حَيْثُ قَفِيْ هَذَا' 'If there is to be found good in any of you, then (it is to be found) in this one', 'مَنْ عَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَإِنَّهُ يَنْفِسُهُ' 'He who does a good deed, (does it) for himself' (Koran 41:46; 45:15).

§449. The apodosis of real conditional sentences and sentences with conditional implication does not always contain an immediate logical conclusion, but a reply, assessment, or confirmation of the assumption made in the protasis: "If this is so, well, such and such is the case", e.g., 'إِنْ يَسْرِقْ فَقَدْ سَرَقَ' 'If he is a thief, well, a brother of his was already a thief before' (Koran 12:77), 'إِنْ ظَلَمْنَا فَلَمْ تَكُنْ ظَلَمْنَا' 'If you declare that we did wrong, well, we had never done wrong', 'إِمَّا تَرَنَا لَا تَرَالَ دِمَاؤُنَا فَإِنَّا لَمْ أَشَيْفُ' 'If ever you (fem.) see that our blood does not cease (flowing), well, we are just flesh for the sword.'

§450. a) 'إِنْ' 'if, in case' introduces real conditional sentences. The apodosis for the most part is a generally valid and always realizable statement of fact. The verb is in the jussive or perfect: 'If you are patient, your Lord will help you', 'إِنْ تَفْعِنِي غَنَائِي يَوْمًا تَفْعِنِي الْيَوْمَ' 'If my wealth one day serves me, it benefits me today'.

Note 1. In poetry, the imperfect or energetic occurs in isolated cases: 'إِنِيدْ أَلْهُومَ إِنْ تَضِيقُ هَبَا' 'Banish your cares, if you feel anguish because of them'.

b) If the protasis puts into question a specific fact, *kāna* (or *yakun*) is used with the perfect or imperfect. The perfect then indicates a fact that could have already been realized, while the imperfect indicates an expected

action: إِنْ كَانَ قَبِيْصَةً فَدَّ مِنْ قُبْلِ فَصَدَقَتْ ‘If his shirt has been torn from the front, then she has spoken the truth’ (Koran 12:26), لَئِنْ كَانَ يَشْمَعَ بَعْضَهُ لَقَدْ ‘If he hears part of it, then perhaps he hears all of it’.

c) Any clause structure is possible (see §447 a) in the apodosis, provided it is not a generally valid conclusion. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperfect may appear along with the jussive and perfect (§446 a) even in a generally valid sense: وَهُوَ يَرِثُهَا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهَا وَلَدٌ ‘And he is her heir, if she has no children’ (Koran 4:176).

Note 2. In a negative apodosis, *lam* appears with the jussive. In pre-classical Arabic, *lā* may occur with the jussive: إِنْ تَذَعُوهُمْ إِلَى الْهُدَى لَا ‘If you call them to the guidance, they do not heed you’ (Koran 7:193).

Note 3. See §§456 ff. on *'in* in disjunctive, concessive, and oath clauses.

§451. إِمَّا تَعْدُوا، إِمَّا ‘if, if ... ever’ (< *in-mā* §290) functions like *'in*: ‘إِنْ آلَصَالِحَاتِ فَإِنِّي أَقُولُ هَذِهِ’ ‘If you ever count the good deeds, I shall also speak about them’. Relatively frequently, the energetic follows: إِمَّا تَرَيْنَ مِنْ أَلْيَشَرِ أَحَدًا فَقُولِي ‘If you (fem.) ever see any mortal, then say ...’ (Koran 19:26).

Note 1. On disjunctive *'immā*, see §459; on *'immā-lā*, see §314.

§452. a) إِلَّا ‘if not, unless’ (§45) is used only in pre-classical Arabic to introduce negative conditional clauses. The jussive always follows: إِلَّا تَفْعِلُوهُ تَكُنْ ‘Unless you do this, there will be upheaval in the land and a great corruption’ (Koran 8:73).

b) وَإِلَّا ‘and if not, otherwise’ occurs as a negative alternative to a positive *'in*-clause whose apodosis ('then it is good, all well and good' (فِيهَا)) is usually left unexpressed. In the apodosis, the perfect expressing a generally valid conclusion follows *wa-'illā*: إِنْ شَمِّثْتَ عَلَى مَوَاعِيدِكَ وَإِلَّا ضَرَبْتَ عَنْكَ ‘If you keep your promises (that is good), and if not, I shall knock off your head’. With a similar meaning, *wa-'illā* comes after a command: أَطْغِنِي وَإِلَّا تَارِكُكَ ‘Obey me, otherwise I will abandon you!’.

Note 1. See §310 for *'illā* as a particle of exception. See also §456.

§453. a) لَوْ 'if' introduces an unreal or potential conditional sentence which contains a hypothetical presumption of a specific unrealized event. The apodosis is as a rule introduced by *la-*. Earlier stages of Arabic used the perfect and imperfect with their aspect function after *law* (§§180 ff.): 'لَوْ نَعْلَمْ قَاتِلًا لَّا يَعْتَدُكُمْ': 'If we knew how to fight, we would follow you'; 'لَوْ قَدْ أَصَابُونِي لَهُوا عَنْ طَلَبِ غَيْرِي إِنْ تَذَغُّوْهُمْ لَا يَسْمَعُوا دُعَاهُمْ وَلَوْ سَمِعُوا مَا آشَجَابُوا لَكُمْ': 'If they had caught me, they would have given up the pursuit of someone else'; 'لَوْ سَمِعُوا دُعَاهُمْ وَلَوْ تَذَغُّوْهُمْ لَا يَسْمَعُوا دُعَاهُمْ': 'If you call upon them, they will not hear your call; and if they had heard, they would not have answered you' (Koran 35:14).

b) Frequently in classical Arabic and regularly in post-classical, the perfect is used in a generally valid sense (§446 a): 'لَوْ كَانَ عَاشِقًا لِمَ يَكُنْ يَحْشِفُ': 'If he had (were to have) loved passionately, he would not waver (have wavered)'. To express the past explicitly, *kāna* may be used with the perfect: 'لَوْ كُنْتُمْ دَعْوَمُونَا أَطْعَنَتُكُمْ': 'If you had called us, we would have heeded you'.

Note 1. To express an absurdly unreal condition, *law* is sometimes strengthened through the addition of 'in': 'إِنْ لَوْ جَاءَكَ عَمُّ مُوسَى مُسْلِمًا مَا كُنْتَ صَابِرًا يَهُ': 'If ever it were to happen that the uncle of Moses came to you as a convert to Islam, what would you do to him?'.

Note 2. See §§457 f. on *law* in wish and concessive sentences.

§454. لَوْ أَنْ occurs in place of *law* when a nominal or copulative clause follows (§§360 ff.): 'لَوْ أَنِّي جِئْتُ فُلَانًا آخْتَمَارَ لَعْلَى أَجَدَ عِنْدَهُ خَرْزاً': 'If I would come to so-and-so, the wine-merchant, maybe I could find some wine with him'.

Note 1. In poetry, *law* + *anna* occurs as لَوْأَنْ *law-anna*.

§455. لَوْلَا 'if not' in classical Arabic is always followed by a noun in the nominative: 'لَوْلَا حُبُّ أَهْلِكَ مَا أَتَيْتُ': 'If it were not for the love of your people, I would not have come'. A substantive clause (§§414 f.) introduced by 'an or 'anna may also follow: 'لَوْلَا أَنْ تُفْسِدَ بِأَقْلَاطِكَ أَكْثَرَ رَعَيْتِي مَا حَبَبْتُكَ': 'If you were not perverting most of my subjects with your words, I would not have imprisoned you'; 'لَوْلَا أَنْ لِسَانَ الْفَيْلِ مَفْلُوبٌ لَّتَكَلَّمَ': 'If the tongue of the elephant were not turned upside down, he would speak'.

Note 1. The personal pronoun in the form of either an independent pronoun or a personal suffix may follow: لَوْلَا أَنْتَ 'if it were not for you, but for you'.

Defective Conditional Sentences

§456. Sentences containing oaths are usually introduced by 'in, 'illā; 'in for negative, 'illā for positive oaths: 'بِحَيَاةِ إِلَّا أَنْشَدْتَنِي الْبَيْتُ' 'By my life, if you do not recite the verse for me!', i.e., 'Recite the verse for me!'; frequently, after verbs expressing oaths: 'أَنْشَدْتُكَ اللَّهُ إِنْ رِمْتَ هَذَا الْمَكَانَ أَبَدًا' 'I swear to you by God that you shall never leave this place!'.

Note 1. *lammā* may appear in place of 'illā; again, the perfect follows: 'أَسْأَلُكَ لَكَ أَخْبَرْتَنِي' 'I ask you not to inform me' (§334.1).

§457. Sentences expressing wishes are frequently introduced by *law*: 'لَوْ أَنِّي' 'If only I knew him!', 'لَوْ كُنْتَ أَشْوَدَ الْلَّغْنَةَ وَالرَّأسَ' 'If I only knew him!', 'أَغْرِفْهُ' 'If I only knew him!', 'لَوْ سَأَلْتَهُ أَنْ يَقِيمَ عِنْدَنَا' 'If you had asked him to stay with us!', 'يَوْدُ لَوْ أَنْ يَنْهَا أَمْدًا بَعِيدًا' 'He would like there to be a wide space between him and her'.

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, *law-lā* and *law-mā* in interrogative sentences have the meaning 'why not ...?': 'لَوْمَا ثَابَتْنَا بِالْمُلَائِكَةِ إِنْ كُنْتَ مِنْ' 'Why do you not bring the angels to us, if you speak truly?' (Koran 15:7), 'لَوْلَا دَفَعْ عَنْهُ' 'Why did he not defend him?'.

§458. 'in and *law* clauses coordinated by *wa-* function as concessive clauses. The verb is in the perfect, and in pre-classical Arabic at times in the jussive: 'هَدَاكُمْ وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ لَمَنْ آتَصَادِينَ' 'He has guided you, though formerly you were gone astray' (Koran 2:198), 'لَوْ عَلِمْتُ لَأَفْعَمْ خَلْفَهُ وَلَوْ دَخَلَ آثَارَ' 'Had I known (it), I would have rushed after him, even if he had gone into Hellfire'. Often, only components of the sentence that supplement the main clause follow *wa-law*: 'فَأَمَرَ الْأَمِيرُ بِإِخْضَارِهِ وَلَوْ حَمُولَاهُ' 'Then the prince commanded him to be brought in, even though he had to be carried', 'كُونُوا قَوَامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ' 'Be steadfast in fairness, even if it goes against yourselves!'.

§459. a) Disjunctive conditional clauses are introduced by 'in ... wa-' in or 'immā ... wa-' immā: 'إِنْ كَانَ قَمِيصَهُ قَدَّ مِنْ قَبْلِ فَصَدَقَتْ وَإِنْ كَانَ قَمِيصَهُ قَدَّ مِنْ' 'If his shirt was stained before he was tested, it was accepted, but if it was stained afterwards, it was not accepted'.

دُبْرٍ فَكَذَّبَتْ 'If his shirt has been torn from the front, then she has spoken the truth ... If his shirt is torn from behind, then she has lied' (Koran 12:26–27) (§450 b). Before the second part of the sentence, *wa-in*, *wa-imma* may be replaced by *aw* (§331): إِنْ تَقْبِلُوا نَعَانِقًا أَوْ تُذَرِّبُوا نُفَارِقًا 'If you draw near, we shall embrace (you), or if you turn away, we shall withdraw', i.e., 'Either you approach, then we embrace you, or you turn away, then we withdraw'.

b) Disjunctive sentences beginning with *in* ... *wa-in*/*aw* and *imma* ... *wa-imma*/*aw* may appear instead of alternative conditional sentences (§452 b). Accordingly, the verb is in the generally valid perfect: إِمَّا جَشَّنَتِي أَوْ فَعَلْتُ 'Either you come to me tonight, or I will do it (i.e., will come to you)'. Frequently, an *an*-clause follows *imma* (§414) in such alternative disjunctive sentences: أَزْسَلَ إِلَيْهِمْ إِمَّا أَنْ تَضَعُوا الْسَّلَاحَ وَإِمَّا أَنْ تُؤْذِنُوا بِخَزْبٍ 'He sent to them: Either lay down your arms or declare war'.

Note 1. Consistent with the conditional implication in alternative sentences, the perfect usually also appears with *aw* (§331) or *am* (§333) in disjunctive sentences: سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنْذِرْتَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ شُنِّذْرُهُمْ 'It is all the same for them, if you warn them or do not warn them' (Koran 2:6; 36:10), سَوَاءٌ شَاءُوا أَوْ أَبْوَا 'It does not matter whether they want or do not want', نُخْرِجُكَ كَذِبًا كُنْتُ أَوْ صَادِقًا 'We shall drive you away, whether you are a liar or speak the truth'.

c) As disjunctive particles, *in* and *imma* (§332) may also join alternative elements of the sentences: قَدْ قِيلَ مَا صِدْقًا وَإِنْ كَذِبَا 'What is said is said, be it truth or be it falsehood', وَأَخْرَجُونَ مُرْجَحُونَ لِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ إِمَّا يُعَذَّبُهُمْ وَإِمَّا يُشَوَّبُ عَلَيْهِمْ 'And others are deferred to God's commandment, whether He chastises them, or turns toward them' (Koran 9:106).

Sentences with Conditional Implication

§460. In sentences in which the relationship of the protasis and the apodosis constitutes a generally valid condition (§445), the verb as a rule, according to §446, is in the jussive or perfect, regardless of what formal structure they have. Thus, it can be said also for clauses expressing commands, questions, or wishes that if the apodosis follows them, their verb will be in the jussive

(cf. §412): 'عِشْ قَبْرًا تَكُنْ مَلِكًا' 'Live with contentment, and you will be a king', 'هَلْ لَكُمْ بِسَيِّدٍ أَهْلَ الشَّامِ تُحْبِبُوا' 'Do you wish to go to the leader of the Syrians? Then you will be given gifts' (cf. §296.3), 'إِنِّي مَالِ أَثْقَافَ مِنْهُ' 'If only I had wealth, then I could spend it!'.

§461. a) Relative particles (§289) often begin generalizing sentences with conditional implication: *mā* 'whatever (else)', *man* 'whoever', etc. In the protasis and the apodosis, the verb is always in the jussive or perfect: 'مَا أَنْسَ لَا أَنْسَ وَجْهِكَ' 'Whatever else I forget, I shall not forget your face' (§450.2), 'أَيْمَنَا شَتَّى فَتَابُوا' 'Whichever of those two you wish to, pay homage to him!' (§447 a), 'إِنْ مَنْ نَامَ عَنْ حَقِّهِمْ لَمْ أَنْمِ' 'If anyone overlooks what is due him, I shall not overlook it' (§449), 'إِنَّمَا تَشَائِنِي عَنْ شَرِّ النَّاسِ أَقْلَى' 'If (whenever) you ask me about the most evil of mankind, I would say ...'.

Note 1. After *haythu* (§441), the conditional implication is expressed by the perfect: 'لِيَذْهَبَ حَيْثُ أَحْبَ' 'May he go wherever he desires!'.

Note 2. On rare occasion, 'in' may be used as an indication of conditional implication with relatives: 'إِنْ مَنْ' 'If anyone'.

b) In constructions with conditional implication, the relative may often appear with generalizing *mā* (§290): 'مَهْمَا تَأْتِنَا يَهُ مِنْ أَيْمَنَ لِتَسْخِرَنَا بِهَا فَمَا' 'Whatever miraculous sign you might bring to enchant us with, we will not believe you' (Koran 7:132), 'أَيْنَمَا أَشْوَجَهُ أَلْقَ سَفَدًا' 'Wherever I go, I meet Sa'd'.

Note 3. In constructions with other particles, *mā* also has a generalizing function: *haythu-mā* 'wherever' (§441). The imperfect may also come after seldom-used 'idh-mā' 'then whenever' (§442).

§462. 'ما' 'while', occasionally also 'as often as', is followed as a rule by the perfect: 'أَلَّهُمَّ مَا دَعْتُكَ أَجَابَ' 'Anxiety answers as often as you call it'. The structure of the main clause is arbitrary: 'مَا أَنْسَ بِكَأَنْتُمْ مَا مَشَنْتُ عَلَى' 'I shall not forget your crying as long as I walk on the earth', 'أَلَّا أَرْضُ' 'I lower my eyes while my neighbor (fem.) appears before me'.

Note 1. Sometimes, *mahmā* (§290) may be used in this function: مَهْمَا تَضْلُّعْ مَهْمَا نَظَرْ شَيْئاً 'As long as you do good, we shall not dismiss you', Whenever he looks at any of the things in existence, he recognizes the mercy of their creator'.

Note 2. In post-classical Arabic, this use of *mā* is clarified by the addition of *ذَام* 'last, continue'. After *mā* 'as long as', the predicate follows as a predicate circumstantial clause or as a circumstantial accusative (§§382 b; 432).

§463. **كُلَّمَا** 'every time that, whenever, as often as' as a rule occurs with the perfect: **كُلَّمَا (كُلُّ مَا)** بِجَاءَ أُمَّةَ رَسُولِهَا كَذَّبُوهُ 'Whenever its messenger came to a nation, they called him a liar' (Koran 23:44). When the elative follows (§§124 ff.), *kulla-mā* with the appropriate apodosis corresponds to the use of 'the more ... the more': **كُلَّمَا كَانَ أَخْبَرَ أَغْرِبَ كَانُوا يَهْ أَشَدَّ عَجَبًا**: 'The more strange the news was, the more they were astounded by it', **كَانَ كُلَّمَا أَخْبَرَ كَانَ أَجْوَدَ كَلَامًا** 'The more he spoke, the better he got' (§446 b).

§464. a) إِذَا 'then when, if' begins temporal adverbial clauses (cf. §442) with conditional implication. The always possible stated fact may occur once ('as soon as') or several times ('as often as'). As a rule, the perfect appears in the protasis, while the structure of the apodosis is free. When the statement is conceived of as generally valid, the perfect may also occur in the apodosis rather than the imperfect: **إِنَّ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ إِذَا ذُكِرَ اللَّهُ وَجِلَّتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ** 'The believers are only those whose hearts are filled with fear whenever God is mentioned' (Koran 8:2), **إِذَا قَتَلَ ذَلِكَ رَأَيْنَا رَأَيْتَا**, 'As soon as he does this, we will form our opinion', **إِذَا شِئْتُمْ فَاغْطُوهُمْ مَا تَرِيدُونَ**, 'If you wish, give them what they desire' (§447a). In pre-classical Arabic, the subject frequently comes immediately after the conjunction: **إِذَا الْكَوَاكِبُ آشَرَتْ** 'When the stars are scattered' (Koran 82:2).

Note 1. In pre-classical Arabic, the imperfect, and rarely the jussive, may appear in the protasis: **إِنَّ الْكَرِيمَ إِذَا يُحَرَّبُ يَغْضَبُ** 'As soon as the noble one is irritated, he becomes angry'.

Note 2. In pre-classical Arabic, *'idhā* is sometimes used without conditional implication. *'idhā* then has the sense of *'idh*. In classical Arabic, *'idhā* coming after *hattā* also has the same meaning. See §440.

b) *kāna* is regularly used before the conjunction (§446 b) to indicate the past tense: 'كُنْتُ إِذَا آشْكَيْتُ رَجُلَيْ' Whenever I complained, he showed me compassion'. It may happen that *kāna*, when it comes first, agrees with the subject of the apodosis: 'كُنْتُ إِذَا قَوْمٌ غَزَّوْنِي غَزَّوْهُمْ' When people attacked me, I attacked them'. This is the rule when the imperfect follows in the apodosis (§192): 'كَانَتِ الْجَوْزُ إِذَا كَلَمَهَا تَسْكُنَتْ عَنْهُ' 'The old woman used to be silent before him whenever he spoke to her'.

§465. 'when, while' is treated like *'idhā* and occurs instead of *'idhā*, if the events described in the protasis and apodosis occur simultaneously: 'إِذَا مَا رُخِنْ يَعْشِينَ آهُوَيْ' 'When they (fem.) go away, they walk at a leisurely pace', 'قُلْتُ لَهُ أَوْ تَحْلُ إِذَا مَا آلَجُومُ أَغْرِضْتُ' 'I said to him, leave, while the stars are out!', 'لَا يَأْبَ الشَّهَدَاءِ إِذَا دُعُوا' 'The witnesses should not refuse, when they are called'.

Paradigms

1. Nouns with Pronominal Suffixes

Masculine				Feminine		
Singular	Nom.	Gen.	Acc.	Nom.	Gen.	Acc.
Sg. 1. Pers.	شَارِقٌ	شَارِقٍ	شَارِقٌ	شَارِقَتِي	شَارِقَتِي	شَارِقَتِي
2. m.	شَارِقُكَ	شَارِقُكَ	شَارِقُكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ
2. f.	شَارِقُكَ	شَارِقُكَ	شَارِقُكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ
3. m.	شَارِقَةٌ	شَارِقَةٌ	شَارِقَةٌ	شَارِقَةٌ	شَارِقَةٌ	شَارِقَةٌ
3. f.	شَارِقَهَا	شَارِقَهَا	شَارِقَهَا	شَارِقَهَا	شَارِقَهَا	شَارِقَهَا
Du. 2.	شَارِقَكُمَا	شَارِقَكُمَا	شَارِقَكُمَا	شَارِقَتَكُمَا	شَارِقَتَكُمَا	شَارِقَتَكُمَا
3.	شَارِقَهُمَا	شَارِقَهُمَا	شَارِقَهُمَا	شَارِقَهُمَا	شَارِقَهُمَا	شَارِقَهُمَا
Pl. 1.	شَارِقَاتَا	شَارِقَاتَا	شَارِقَاتَا	شَارِقَاتَا	شَارِقَاتَا	شَارِقَاتَا
2. m.	شَارِقَكُمْ	شَارِقَكُمْ	شَارِقَكُمْ	شَارِقَتَكُمْ	شَارِقَتَكُمْ	شَارِقَتَكُمْ
2. f.	شَارِقَكُنَّ	شَارِقَكُنَّ	شَارِقَكُنَّ	شَارِقَتَكُنَّ	شَارِقَتَكُنَّ	شَارِقَتَكُنَّ
3. m.	شَارِقَهُمْ	شَارِقَهُمْ	شَارِقَهُمْ	شَارِقَهُمْ	شَارِقَهُمْ	شَارِقَهُمْ
3. f.	شَارِقَهُنَّ	شَارِقَهُنَّ	شَارِقَهُنَّ	شَارِقَهُنَّ	شَارِقَهُنَّ	شَارِقَهُنَّ
Dual	Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.		
Sg. 1. Pers.	شَارِقَاتِي	شَارِقَتِي	شَارِقَاتِي	شَارِقَاتِي	شَارِقَاتِي	
2. m.	شَارِقَاتَكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ	شَارِقَاتَكَ	شَارِقَاتَكَ	شَارِقَاتَكَ	
3. m.	شَارِقَاتَهَا	شَارِقَتِهَا	شَارِقَاتَهَا	شَارِقَتِهَا	شَارِقَتِهَا	
Plural	Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.		
Sg. 1. Pers.	شَارِقَاتِي	شَارِقَتِي	شَارِقَاتِي	شَارِقَاتِي	شَارِقَاتِي	
2. m.	شَارِقَاتَكَ	شَارِقَتِكَ	شَارِقَاتَكَ	شَارِقَاتَكَ	شَارِقَاتَكَ	
3. m.	شَارِقَاتَهَا	شَارِقَتِهَا	شَارِقَاتَهَا	شَارِقَاتِهَا	شَارِقَاتِهَا	

2. Nouns Ending in -ā

	Sg.	Du. Nom.	Obl.	Pl. Nom.	Obl.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	مُلْقَيٰ	مُلْقَيَّا	مُلْقَيٰ	مُلْقَيٰ	مُلْقَيٰ
2. m.	مُلْقَادٌ	مُلْقَيَادٌ	مُلْقَيَنِكٌ	مُلْقَوْدٌ	مُلْقَيَنِدٌ
3. m.	مُلْقَاهٌ	مُلْقَيَاهٌ	مُلْقَيَهٌ	مُلْقَهٌ	مُلْقَيَهٌ

3. Nouns Ending in -āt

	Sg. Nom./Gen.	Acc.	Du. Nom.	Obl.	Pl. Nom.	Obl.
<i>Sg. 1. Pers.</i>	ذَاعَيٰ	ذَاعَيٰ	ذَاعَيَّا	ذَاعَيَّا	ذَاعَيٰ	ذَاعَيٰ
2. m.	ذَاعِيَكٌ	ذَاعِيَكٌ	ذَاعِيَادٌ	ذَاعِيَنِكٌ	ذَاعِيَوْدٌ	ذَاعِيَنِدٌ
2. f.	ذَاعِيَهٌ	ذَاعِيَهٌ	ذَاعِيَاهٌ	ذَاعِيَهٌ	ذَاعِيَهٌ	ذَاعِيَهٌ

4. Basic Stem of the 3-Radical Verb (Active)

	Perf. (a)	Imperf. (a)	Subj.	Juss.	Energ. I	Energ. II
<i>Sg. 3. m.</i>	فَعَلٌ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعَلَنُ	يَفْعَلَنُ
3. f.	فَعَلَتْ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلَنُ	تَفْعَلَنُ
2. m.	فَعَلَتْ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلَنُ	تَفْعَلَنُ
2. f.	فَعَلَتْ	تَفْعَلَيْنِ	تَفْعَلَيْ	تَفْعَلَيْ	تَفْعَلَنُ	تَفْعَلَنُ
1.	فَعَلْتُ	أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلَنُ	أَفْعَلَنُ
<i>Du. 3. m.</i>	فَعَلَا	يَفْعَلَانِ	يَفْعَلَا	يَفْعَلَا	يَفْعَلَانَ	يَفْعَلَانَ
3. f.	فَعَلَتَا	تَفْعَلَانِ	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَانَ	تَفْعَلَانَ
2.	فَعَلَتَا	تَفْعَلَانِ	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَانَ	تَفْعَلَانَ
<i>Pl. 3. m.</i>	فَعَلُوا	يَفْعَلُونِ	يَفْعَلُوا	يَفْعَلُوا	يَفْعَلَنَانَ	يَفْعَلَنَانَ
3. f.	فَعَلَنْ	يَفْعَلَنِ	يَفْعَلَنِ	يَفْعَلَنِ	يَفْعَلَنَانَ	يَفْعَلَنَانَ
2. m.	فَعَلَمْ	تَفْعَلُونِ	تَفْعَلُوا	تَفْعَلُوا	تَفْعَلَنُ	تَفْعَلَنُ
2. f.	فَعَلَنْ	تَفْعَلَنِ	تَفْعَلَنِ	تَفْعَلَنِ	تَفْعَلَنَانَ	تَفْعَلَنَانَ
1.	فَعَلَتَا	تَفْعَلَنِ	تَفْعَلَنِ	تَفْعَلَنِ	تَفْعَلَنَانَ	تَفْعَلَنَانَ

Imperative				
Sg. m.	f.	Du.	Pl. m.	f.
(a) أَفْعُلُ	أَفْعِلِي	أَفْعَلَا	أَفْعَلُوا	أَفْعَلَنَّ
(i) أَفْعِلُ	أَفْعِلِي	أَفْعَلَا	أَفْعَلُوا	أَفْعَلَنَّ
(u) أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعِلِي	أَفْعَلَا	أَفْعَلُوا	أَفْعَلَنَّ

Active Participle				
Sg. m.	Pl. m.	Sg. f.	Pl. f.	
فَاعِلٌ		فَاعِلُونَ		فَاعِلَةٌ
فَاعِلٌ		فَاعِلَةٌ		فَاعِلَاتٌ

5. Basic Stem of the 3-Radical Verb (Passive)

	Perf.	Imperf.	Subj.	Juss.	Energ. I.
Sg. m.	فَعَلَ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلَنَّ
3. f.	فَعِلَتْ	تَفْعُلُ	تَفْعَلَ	تَفْعُلُ	تَفْعَلَنَّ
2. m.	فَعِلَتْ	تَفْعُلُ	تَفْعَلَ	تَفْعُلُ	تَفْعَلَنَّ
2. f.	فَعِلَتْ	تَفْعَلِيَنَّ	تَفْعَلِي	تَفْعَلِي	تَفْعَلَنَّ
1.	فَعِلَتْ	أَفْعُلُ	أَفْعَلَ	أَفْعُلُ	أَفْعَلَنَّ
Du. 3. m.	فَعِلَا	يَفْعَلَانِ	يَفْعَلَا	يَفْعَلَا	يَفْعَلَانَ
3. f.	فَعِلَتْا	تَفْعَلَانِ	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَانَ
2.	فَعِلَتْا	تَفْعَلَانِ	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَا	تَفْعَلَانَ
Pl. 3. m.	فَعِلُو	يَفْعَلُونَ	يَفْعُلُوا	يَفْعُلُوا	يَفْعَلَنَّ
3. f.	فَعِلَنَّ	يَفْعَلَنَّ	يَفْعَلَنَّ	يَفْعَلَنَّ	يَفْعَلَنَّ
2. m.	فَعِلَنَّ	تَفْعَلُونَ	تَفْعُلُوا	تَفْعُلُوا	تَفْعَلَنَّ
2. f.	فَعِلَنَّ	تَفْعَلَنَّ	تَفْعَلَنَّ	تَفْعَلَنَّ	تَفْعَلَنَّ
1.	فَعِلَنَّ	تَفْعَلُ	تَفْعَلَ	تَفْعَلَ	تَفْعَلَنَّ

Passive Participle				
Sg. m.	Pl. m.	Sg. f.	Pl. f.	
مَفْعُولٌ		مَفْعُولُونَ		مَفْعُولَةٌ
مَفْعُولٌ		مَفْعُولَةٌ		مَفْعُولَاتٌ

6. 3-Radical Derived Verbs

	Basic stem (I)	Form II	Form III	Form IV
Perf. act.	فَعَلَ	فَعَلَ	فَاعَلَ	أَفْعَلَ
Perf. pass.	فُعَلَ	فُعَلَ	فُوعَلَ	أُفْعَلَ
Imperf. act.	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعُلُ	يُفَاعِلُ	يُفْعَلُ
Imperf. pass.	يُفْعُلُ	يُفْعُلُ	يُفَاعِلُ	يُفْعَلُ
Juss. act.	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعُلُ	يُفَاعِلُ	يُفْعَلُ
Juss. pass.	يُفْعُلُ	يُفْعُلُ	يُفَاعِلُ	يُفْعَلُ
Imper.	أَفْعُلَ	أَفْعُلَ	فَاعَلَ	أَفْعَلَ
Act. part.	فَاعِلٌ	مُفَعَّلٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ	مُفْعَلٌ
Pass. part.	مُفْعُولٌ	مُفَعَّلٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ	مُفْعَلٌ
Verbal subst.	فَعَلٌ	يُفَعِّلُ	فِعَالٌ	إِفْعَالٌ

	Form V	Form VI	Form VII	Form VIII	Form X
Perf. act.	تَفَعَّلَ	تَفَاعَلَ	إِنْتَفَعَلَ	إِنْتَفَعَلَ	إِنْتَفَعَلَ
Perf. pass.	تَفَعَّلَ	تَفَوَّعَلَ	أَنْتَفَعَلَ	أَنْتَفَعَلَ	أَنْتَفَعَلَ
Imperf. act.	يَتَفَعَّلُ	يَتَفَاعَلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ
Imperf. pass.	يَتَفَعَّلُ	يَتَفَاعَلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ
Juss. act.	يَتَفَعَّلُ	يَتَفَاعَلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ
Juss. pass.	يَتَفَعَّلُ	يَتَفَاعَلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ	يُتَفَعِّلُ
Imper.	تَفَعَّلَ	تَفَاعَلَ	إِنْتَفَعَلَ	إِنْتَفَعَلَ	إِنْتَفَعَلَ
Act. part.	مُتَفَعِّلٌ	مُتَفَاعِلٌ	مُتَفَعِّلٌ	مُتَفَعِّلٌ	مُتَفَعِّلٌ
Pass. part.	مُتَفَعَّلٌ	مُتَفَاعِلٌ	مُتَفَعَّلٌ	مُتَفَعَّلٌ	مُتَفَعَّلٌ
Verb. subst.	تَفَعَّلٌ	تَفَاعَلٌ	إِنْتَفَعَالٌ	إِنْتَفَعَالٌ	إِنْتَفَعَالٌ

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	IX Form			XI Form		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
Sg. 3. m.	أَفْعَلُ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلٌ	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعَالِ / يَفْعَالٌ / يَفْعَالٌ
3. f.	أَفْعَلَتُ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلَتُ	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعَالِ / يَفْعَالٌ / يَفْعَالٌ
2. m.	أَفْعَلَتُ	يَفْعُلُ	يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلَتُ	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعَالِ / يَفْعَالٌ / يَفْعَالٌ
2. f.	أَفْعَلَتِ	يَفْعُلَنِ	يَفْعَلِي	أَفْعَلَتِ	يَفْعَالِنِ	يَفْعَالِي
1.	أَفْعَلَتُ	أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلُ / أَفْعَلُ / أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَلَتُ	أَفْعَلُ	أَفْعَالِ / أَفْعَالٌ / أَفْعَالٌ
Du. 3. m.	أَفْعَلَا	يَفْعَلَانِ	يَفْعَلَا	إِفْعَالٌ	يَفْعَالَانِ	يَفْعَالَا
3. f.	أَفْعَلَتَا	يَفْعَلَانِ	يَفْعَلَا	إِفْعَالَتَا	يَفْعَالَانِ	يَفْعَالَا
2.	أَفْعَلَتَمَا	يَفْعَلَانِ	يَفْعَلَا	إِفْعَالَتَمَا	يَفْعَالَانِ	يَفْعَالَا
Pl. 3. m.	أَفْعَلُوا	يَفْعَلُونِ	يَفْعَلُوا	إِفْعَالُوا	يَفْعَالُونِ	يَفْعَالُوا
3. f.	أَفْعَلَتُنِ	يَفْعَلَنِ	يَفْعَلِنِ	إِفْعَالَتُنِ	يَفْعَالَنِ	يَفْعَالِنِ
2. m.	أَفْعَلَتُمِ	يَفْعَلُونِ	يَفْعَلُوا	إِفْعَالَتُمِ	يَفْعَالُونِ	يَفْعَالُوا
2. f.	أَفْعَلَتُنِ	يَفْعَلَنِ	يَفْعَلِنِ	إِفْعَالَتُنِ	يَفْعَالَنِ	يَفْعَالِنِ
1.	أَفْعَلَتَا	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ / يَفْعَلُ	إِفْعَالَتَا	يَفْعَلُ	يَفْعَالِ / يَفْعَالٌ / يَفْعَالٌ
Imperative sg. m.	أَفْعَلِي . f. أَفْعَلِل / أَفْعَالِ / أَفْعَلِ			إِفْعَالِي . f. إِفْعَالِل / إِفْعَالِل / إِفْعَالِ		
Participle sg. m.	مُفْعَلَةِ f. مُفْعَلٌ			مُفْعَالَةِ f. مُفْعَالِ		
Verbal subst.	إِفْعَلَلُ			إِفْعَلَلُ		

	XII Form	XIII Form	XIV Form	XV Form
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Act. part.
Perf.	إِفْعَوْلُ	إِفْعَوْلُ	إِفْعَنَلُ	إِفْعَنَلِي
Imperf.	يَفْعَوْلُ	يَفْعَوْلُ	يَفْعَنَلُ	يَفْعَنَلِي
Juss.	يَفْعَوْلُ	يَفْعَوْلُ	يَفْعَنَلُ	يَفْعَنَلِ
Act. part.	مُفْعَوْلُ	مُفْعَوْلُ	مُفْعَنَلُ	مُفْعَنَلِ
Verbal subst.	إِفْعَيَالِ	إِفْمَوَالِ	إِفْعَنَلِلُ	إِفْعَنَلَةِ

7. II-Geminate Verbs

Basic Stem (I)						
	Active			Passive		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
Sg. 3. m.	رَدَّ	يَرَدُّ	تَرَدَّدٌ / تَرَدَّدَ / يَرَدُّ	رَدَّ	يَرَدُّ	تَرَدَّدٌ / تَرَدَّدَ / يَرَدُّ
3. f.	رَدَّتْ	يَرَدُّتْ	تَرَدَّدٌ / تَرَدَّدَ / يَرَدُّتْ	رَدَّتْ	يَرَدُّتْ	تَرَدَّدٌ / تَرَدَّدَ / يَرَدُّتْ
2. m.	رَدَّتْ	يَرَدُّتْ	تَرَدَّدٌ / تَرَدَّدَ / يَرَدُّتْ	رَدَّتْ	يَرَدُّتْ	تَرَدَّدٌ / تَرَدَّدَ / يَرَدُّتْ
2. f.	رَدَّتْتِ	يَرَدُّتِينَ	تَرَدَّدَيِ	رَدَّتْتِ	يَرَدُّتِينَ	تَرَدَّدَيِ
1.	رَدَّتْ	أَرَدَّ	أَرَدَّ / أَرَدَ / أَرَدَ	رَدَّتْ	أَرَدَّ	أَرَدَّ / أَرَدَ / أَرَدَ
Du. 3. m.	رَدَا	يَرَدَانِ	تَرَدَّا	رَدَا	يَرَدَانِ	تَرَدَّا
3. f.	رَدَّاتْ	يَرَدَانِ	تَرَدَّا	رَدَّاتْ	يَرَدَانِ	تَرَدَّا
2.	رَدَّاتْمَا	يَرَدَانِ	تَرَدَّا	رَدَّاتْمَا	يَرَدَانِ	تَرَدَّا
Pl. 3. m.	رَدُوا	يَرَدُونَ	تَرَدُوا	رَدُوا	يَرَدُونَ	تَرَدُوا
3. f.	رَدَّنَ	يَرَدَنَ	تَرَدَّنَ	رَدَّنَ	يَرَدَنَ	تَرَدَّنَ
2. m.	رَدَّتْمَ	يَرَدُونَ	تَرَدُوا	رَدَّتْمَ	يَرَدُونَ	تَرَدُوا
2. f.	رَدَّتْشَ	يَرَدَنَ	تَرَدَّنَ	رَدَّتْشَ	يَرَدَنَ	تَرَدَّنَ
1.	رَدَّاتْ	يَرَدُّ	تَرَدَّ	رَدَّاتْ	يَرَدُّ	تَرَدَّ / تَرَدَّ / يَرَدُّ

Imperative Sg. m. رَدُوا f. جَرَدَ f. أَرَدَ / جَرَدَ / يَرَدُّ Du. Pl. m. رَدَا Pl. f. جَرَادَيِ

Act. part. Sg. m. مَرْدُوْهَةٌ f. مَرْدُوْهَةٌ Pass. part. Sg. m. رَادَةٌ f. جَرَادَةٌ

Form II						
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Imperat.	Part.	Verb. Subst.
Active	رَدَّ	يَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّ	رَدَّ	مَرْدُوْهَةٌ	تَرَدَّيْد
Passive	رَدَّ	يَرَدُّ	تَرَدَّ		مَرْدُوْهَةٌ	

Form V						
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Imperat.	Part.	Verb. Subst.
Active	تَرَدَّ	يَتَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّ	مَتَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّ
Passive	تَرَدَّ	يَتَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّ		مَتَرَدَّ	

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	Form IV	Form III	Form VI	Form VII	Form VIII	Form X
Perf. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	أَرَدْ	رَادْ	تَرَادْ	إِنْرَادْ	إِرْتَدْ	إِنْتَرَدْ
2. m.	أَرَدْتُ	رَادْتُ	تَرَادْتُ	إِنْرَادْتُ	إِرْتَدْتُ	إِنْتَرَدْتُ
Perf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	أَرَدْ	رَوْدَة	تُرَوْدَة	إِنْرَادْ	أَرْتَدْ	إِنْتَرَدْ
2. m.	أَرَدْتُ	رَوْدَتُ	تُرَوْدَتُ	إِنْرَادْتُ	أَرْتَدْتُ	إِنْتَرَدْتُ
Imperf. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدْ	يُرَادْ	يَتَرَادْ	يَنْرَادْ	يَرْتَدْ	يَنْتَرَدْ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُونَ	يُرَادُونَ	يَتَرَادُونَ	يَنْرَادُونَ	يَرْتَدُونَ	يَنْتَرَدُونَ
3. f.	يُرِدْذَنَ	يُرَادْذَنَ	يَتَرَادْذَنَ	يَنْرَادْذَنَ	يَرْتَدْذَنَ	يَنْتَرَدْذَنَ
Imperf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدْ	يُرَادْ	يَتَرَادْ	يَنْرَادْ	يَرْتَدْ	يَنْتَرَدْ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُونَ	يُرَادُونَ	يَتَرَادُونَ	يَنْرَادُونَ	يَرْتَدُونَ	يَنْتَرَدُونَ
3. f.	يُرِدْذَنَ	يُرَادْذَنَ	يَتَرَادْذَنَ	يَنْرَادْذَنَ	يَرْتَدْذَنَ	يَنْتَرَدْذَنَ
Juss. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدْذَنَ/يُرِدْ/يُرَدْ	يُرِادْذَنَ/يُرِادْ/يُرَادْ	يَتَرَادْذَنَ/يَتَرَادْ/يَتَرَادْ	يَنْرَادْذَنَ/يَنْرَادْ/يَنْرَادْ	يَرْتَدْذَنَ/يَرْتَدْ/يَرْتَدْ	يَنْتَرَدْذَنَ/يَنْتَرَدْ/يَنْتَرَدْ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُوا	يُرَادُوا	يَتَرَادُوا	يَنْرَادُوا	يَرْتَدُوا	يَنْتَرَدُوا
3. f.	يُرِدْذَنَ	يُرَادْذَنَ	يَتَرَادْذَنَ	يَنْرَادْذَنَ	يَرْتَدْذَنَ	يَنْتَرَدْذَنَ
Juss. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُرِدْذَنَ/يُرِدْ/يُرَدْ	يُرِادْذَنَ/يُرِادْ/يُرَادْ	يَتَرَادْذَنَ/يَتَرَادْ/يَتَرَادْ	يَنْرَادْذَنَ/يَنْرَادْ/يَنْرَادْ	يَرْتَدْذَنَ/يَرْتَدْ/يَرْتَدْ	يَنْتَرَدْذَنَ/يَنْتَرَدْ/يَنْتَرَدْ
Pl. 3. m.	يُرِدُوا	يُرَادُوا	يَتَرَادُوا	يَنْرَادُوا	يَرْتَدُوا	يَنْتَرَدُوا
3. f.	يُرِدْذَنَ	يُرَادْذَنَ	يَتَرَادْذَنَ	يَنْرَادْذَنَ	يَرْتَدْذَنَ	يَنْتَرَدْذَنَ
Imperat. Sg. m.						
f.	أَرِدْي	رَادْي	تَرَادْي	إِنْرَادْي	إِرْتَدْي	إِنْتَرَدْي
Part. act.	مُرِدْ	مَرَادْ	مَتَرَادْ	مَنْرَادْ	مُرْتَدْ	مُنْتَرَدْ
Part. pass.	مُرِدْ	مَرَادْ	مَتَرَادْ	مَنْرَادْ	مُرْتَدْ	مُنْتَرَدْ
Verb. subst.	إِرْدَادْ	رَادْدَ	تَرَادْدَ	إِنْرَادْدَ	إِرْتَدْدَ	إِنْتَرَدْدَ

8. I-hamzah and I-Weak Verbs

	I- Roots		I-w Roots		I-y Roots	
	Form I	Form IV	Form I	Form IV	Form I	Form IV
Perf. act.						
Sg. m.	أَنْزَرُ	أَنْزَرَ	وَصَلَ	أَوْصَلَ	يَسَرُ	أَيْسَرٌ
Perf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	أُنْزَرُ	أُونْزَرُ	وَصَلَ	أَوْصَلَ	يُسَرُ	أُوينَرٌ
Imperf. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يَأْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يَصَلُ	يُوَصَّلُ	يَتَسِرُ	يُوَسِّرٌ
I.	أَنِزَرُ	أُونِزَرُ	أَصَلُ	أَوْصَلُ	أَيْسَرُ	أُويَسَرٌ
Imperf. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يُوَصَّلُ	يُوَصَّلُ	يُوَسِّرُ	يُوَسِّرٌ
I.	أُونِزَرُ	أُونِزَرُ	أَوْصَلُ	أَوْصَلُ	أَوْسَرُ	أُوينَرٌ
Subj. act.						
Sg. 3. m.	يَأْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يَصَلُ	يُوَصَّلُ	يَتَسِرُ	يُوَسِّرٌ
I.	أَنِزَرُ	أُونِزَرُ	أَصَلُ	أَوْصَلُ	أَيْسَرُ	أُويَسَرٌ
Subj. pass.						
Sg. 3. m.	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يُوَصَّلُ	يُوَصَّلُ	يُوَسِّرُ	يُوَسِّرٌ
I.	أُونِزَرُ	أُونِزَرُ	أَوْصَلُ	أَوْصَلُ	أَوْسَرُ	أُويَسَرٌ
Imperat. sg.	أَنْتَزْ / إِنْتَزْ	أَنْتَزْ / إِنْتَزْ	صَلٌ	أَوْصَلٌ	إِسْرٌ	أَيْسَرٌ
Part. act.	أَنِزَرُ	مُؤْنِزَرُ	وَاصِلٌ	مُوَصِّلٌ	يَاهِزُرٌ	مُويَسَرٌ
Verb. subst.	أَنْزَرُ	إِنْتَزَارٌ	صَلَةٌ	إِيْصَالٌ	يَسَرٌ	إِيْسَارٌ
	I- Roots		I-w Roots		I-y Roots	
	VIII Form		VIII Form		VIII Form	
	Act.	Pass.	Act.	Pass.	Act.	Pass.
	أَنْتَزُرٌ / إِنْتَزُرٌ	أَوْنِزُرٌ / أُونِزُرٌ	أَنْصَلٌ	أَنْصَلٌ	أَنْصَلٌ	أَنْصَلٌ
Perf. Sg. 3. m.	يَأْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ
Imperf. Sg. 3. m.	يَأْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ
I.	أَنِزَرُ	أُونِزَرُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ
Subj. Sg. 3. m.	يَأْنِزُرُ	يُؤْنِزُرُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ
I.	أَنِزَرُ	أُونِزَرُ	يَئْصَلُ	يَئْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ	أَنْصَلُ
Imperat. Sg.	أَنْتَزُرٌ / إِنْتَزُرٌ	أَنْتَزُرٌ / إِنْتَزُرٌ	إِنْصَلُ	إِنْصَلُ	إِنْصَلُ	إِنْصَلُ
Part.	مُؤْنِزَرُ	مُؤْنِزَرُ	مُؤْنِصَلٌ	مُؤْنِصَلٌ	مُؤْنِصَلٌ	مُؤْنِصَلٌ
Verb. subst.	أَنْتَزَارٌ / إِنْتَزَارٌ		إِنْصَالٌ		إِنْصَالٌ	

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9. The Verb زَأْيٌ 'see'

Active

	Form I			Form IV		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
Sg. 3. m.	زَأْيٌ	بَرِي	بَرَّ	أَرْيٌ	بُرِي	بَرٌ
3. f.	زَأْثٌ	تَرِي	تَرَّ	أَرْثٌ	تُرِي	تَرٌ
2. m.	زَأْيَتٌ	تَرِي	تَرَّ	أَرْيَتٌ	تُرِي	تَرٌ
2. f.	زَأْيَتٌ	تَرِيْنَ	تَرِي	أَرْيَتٌ	تُرِيْنَ	تَرٌ
1.	زَأْيَتٌ	أَرْيٌ	أَرَّ	أَرْيَتٌ	أُرِي	أَرٌ
Du. 3. m.	زَأْيَا	بَرِيَانٍ	بَرِيَا	أَرْيَا	بُرِيَانٍ	بَرٌ
3. f.	زَأْتَا	تَرِيَانٍ	تَرِيَا	أَرْتَا	تُرِيَانٍ	تَرٌ
2.	زَأْيَتَا	تَرِيَانٍ	تَرِيَا	أَرْيَتَا	تُرِيَانٍ	تَرٌ
Pl. 3. m.	زَأْفَا	بَرِوْنَ	بَرِوْنَا	أَرْفَا	بُرِوْنَ	بَرٌ
3. f.	زَأْنَنٌ	بَرِيْنَ	بَرِيْنَ	أَرْيَنٌ	بُرِيْنَ	بَرٌ
2. m.	زَأْيَمْ	تَرِوْنَ	تَرِوْنَا	أَرْيَمْ	تُرِوْنَ	تَرٌ
2. f.	زَأْيَنَ	تَرِيْنَ	تَرِيْنَا	أَرْيَنَ	تُرِيْنَ	تَرٌ
1.	زَأْيَنَا	نَرِي	نَرَّ	أَرْيَنَا	نُرِي	نَرٌ
Imperative Sg. m. زَأْهِ		Pl. m. زَرْفَا		Sg. m. أَرِ	Pl. m. أَرْوا	
Du. زَيَا		Du. أَرْيَا		f. زَيِّنَ		f. أَرِينَ
f. زَيِّنَ		f. أَرِينَ		f. أَرِينَ		f. أَرِينَ

Passive

	Form I Perf.	Form IV Perf	Form I & IV Imperf.	Form I & IV Juss.
Sg. 3. m.	رَفِي	أَرِي	بُرِي	بَرٌ
3. f.	رَيْتٌ	أَرِيَتٌ	تُرِي	تَرٌ
2. f.	رَيْتٌ	أَرِيَتٌ	تُرِيْنَ	تَرٌ
Du. 3. m.	رَيْتَا	أَرِيَا	تُرِيَانٍ	تَرٌ
Pl. 3. m.	رَفُوا	أَرُوا	بُرُونَ	بَرٌ
3. f.	رَيْنَ	أَرِينَ	بُرِيْنَ	بَرٌ

10. II-Weak Verbs

		Basic Stem (I)			
		Perfect Active		Perf. Passive	
Sg. 3. m.	قَامَ	ضَازَ	نَامَ	فِيمَ	
3. f.	فَامَتْ	ضَازَتْ	نَامَتْ	قِيمَتْ	
2. m.	مُهْنَثْ	صَرُثْ	بَهْنَثْ	قِنَثْ	
2. f.	قُهْنَتْ	صَرُثَتْ	بَهْنَتْ	قِنَتْ	
1.	قُهْنَثْ	صَرُثَثْ	بَهْنَثَثْ	قِنَثَثْ	
Du. 3. m.	قَاما	ضَازَا	نَاما	فِيما	
3. f.	فَامَتا	ضَازَاتَا	نَامَتا	قِيمَتا	
2.	مُهْنَثَا	صَرُثَثَا	بَهْنَثَثَا	قِنَثَثَا	
Pl. 3. m.	قَامُوا	ضَازُوا	نَامُوا	فِيمُوا	
3. f.	فَنَّ	صَرُنَ	بَهْنَنَ	قِنَنَ	
2. m.	قُهْنَمَ	صَرُثُمَ	بَهْنَثُمَ	قِنَثُمَ	
2. f.	قُهْنَشَ	صَرُثُشَ	بَهْنَثُشَ	قِنَثُشَ	
1.	قُهْنَثَ	صَرُثُثَ	بَهْنَثُثَ	قِنَثُثَ	
		Imperfect Active		Imperf. Passive	
Sg. 3. m.	يَتَّهُومُ	يَصِيرُ	يَنَامُ	يَقَامُ	
3. f.	تَهُومُ	تَصِيرُ	تَنَامُ	تَقَامُ	
2. m.	تَهُومُ	تَصِيرُ	تَنَامُ	تَقَامُ	
2. f.	تَهُومِينَ	تَصِيرِينَ	تَنَامِينَ	تَقَابِينَ	
1.	أَتَهُومُ	أَصِيرُ	أَنَامُ	أَقَامُ	
Du. 3. m.	يَتَّهُومان	يَصِيران	يَنَامان	يَقَامان	
3. f.	تَهُومان	تَصِيران	تَنَامان	تَقَامان	
2.	تَهُومان	تَصِيران	تَنَامان	تَقَامان	
Pl. 3. m.	يَتَّهُومون	يَصِيرون	يَنَامون	يَقَامون	
3. f.	تَهُومَنَ	يَصِيرَنَ	يَنَمَنَ	يَقَمَنَ	
2. m.	تَهُومُونَ	تَصِيرُونَ	تَنَامُونَ	تَقَامُونَ	
2. f.	تَهُومَنَ	تَصِيرَنَ	تَنَمَنَ	تَقَمَنَ	
1.	تَهُومُ	يَصِيرُ	يَنَامُ	يَقَامُ	

	Subjunctive Active			Subj. Passive
Sg. 3. m.	يَقُومُ	يَصِيرَ	يَنْتَمِ	يَقَامُ
3. f.	تَقُومُ	تَصِيرَ	تَنْتَمِ	تَقَامُ
2. m.	تَقُومُ	تَصِيرَ	تَنْتَمِ	تَقَامُ
2. f.	تَقُومِي	تَصِيرِي	تَنْتَمِي	تَقَامِي
1.	أَقُومُ	أَصِيرَ	أَنْتَمِ	أَقَامُ
Du. 3. m.	يَقُومَا	يَصِيرَا	يَنْتَمَا	يَقَامَا
3. f.	تَقُومَا	تَصِيرَا	تَنْتَمَا	تَقَامَا
2.	تَقُومَا	تَصِيرَا	تَنْتَمَا	تَقَامَا
Pl. 3. m.	يَقُومُوا	يَصِيرُوا	يَنْتَمُوا	يَقَامُوا
3. f.	يَقْفَنْ	يَصِيرَنْ	يَنْتَفَنْ	يَقْفَنْ
2. m.	تَقُومُوا	تَصِيرُوا	تَنْتَمُوا	تَقَامُوا
2. f.	تَقْفَنْ	تَصِيرَنْ	تَنْتَفَنْ	تَقْفَنْ
1.	تَقُومُ	تَصِيرَ	تَنْتَمِ	تَقَامُ
	Jussive Active			Juss. Passive
Sg. 3. m.	يَقْنَمُ	يَعْزِزُ	يَنْتَمُ	يَقْنَمُ
3. f.	تَقْنَمُ	تَعْزِزُ	تَنْتَمُ	تَقْنَمُ
2. m.	تَقْنَمُ	تَعْزِزُ	تَنْتَمُ	تَقْنَمُ
2. f.	تَقْنُومِي	تَصِيرِي	تَنْتَمِي	تَقْنَمِي
1.	أَقْنَمُ	أَصِرَّ	أَنْتَمِ	أَقْنَمُ
Du. 3. m.	يَقْنَمَا	يَصِيرَا	يَنْتَمَا	يَقْنَمَا
3. f.	تَقْنَمَا	تَصِيرَا	تَنْتَمَا	تَقْنَمَا
2.	تَقْنَمَا	تَصِيرَا	تَنْتَمَا	تَقْنَمَا
Pl. 3. m.	يَقْنَمُوا	تَصِيرُوا	يَنْتَمُوا	يَقْنَمُوا
3. f.	يَقْفَنْ	يَصِيرَنْ	يَنْتَفَنْ	يَقْفَنْ
2. m.	تَقْنَمُوا	تَصِيرُوا	تَنْتَمُوا	تَقْنَمُوا
2. f.	تَقْفَنْ	تَصِيرَنْ	تَنْتَفَنْ	تَقْفَنْ
1.	تَقْنَمُ	تَصِيرَ	تَنْتَمِ	تَقْنَمُ

Imperative				
Sg. m.	فُنْ	صِرْ	نَمْ	
f.	قُوِيْ	صِيرِي	نَابِيْ	
Du.	قُومَا	صِيرَا	نَامَا	
Pl. m.	قُومُوا	صِيرُوا	نَامُوا	
f.	قُونْ	صِرْنَ	نَمْنَ	
Active Participle		Passive Participle		
Sg. m.	قَانِمْ	صَائِرْ	نَامِمْ	مَقْوُمْ
f.	قَائِمَةْ	صَائِرَةْ	نَامِمَةْ	مَقْوِمةْ

	Form II					
	Active			Passive		
Perf.	فَوْم	صَبَرْ	تَوْم	فَوْم	صَبَرْ	تَوْم
Imperf.	يَفْوَمُ	يُصَبِّرْ	يَتَوْمُ	يَفْوَمُ	يُصَبِّرْ	يَتَوْمُ
Juss.	يَفْوَم	يُصَبِّر	يَتَوْم	يَفْوَم	يُصَبِّر	يَتَوْم
Imperat.	فَوْم	صَبَرْ	تَوْم	مَفْوَم	مُصَبِّرْ	مَتَوْم
Part.	مَفْوَم	مُصَبِّرْ	مَتَوْم	مَفْوَم	مُصَبِّرْ	مَتَوْم
Verb. subst.	تَفْوِيم	تُصَبِّير	تَتَوْم			

	Form III		Form V		Form VI	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
Perf.	فَأَوْم	فُوْم	تَفَقَّهَم	تَفَوَّم	تَفَاقَم	تَفَوُّم
Imperf.	صَابَرْ	صُوبِرْ	تَصَبَّرْ	تُصَبِّرْ	تَصَابَرْ	تُصَوِّرْ
	يَفْلَوْم	يَفَلَوْم	يَتَفَقَّهُم	يَتَفَوَّهُم	يَتَفَقَّاهُم	يَتَفَوَّهُمُ
	يُصَابَرْ	يُصَابِرْ	يُتَصَبَّرْ	يُتَصَبِّرْ	يُتَصَابَرْ	يُتَصَبِّرْ
Juss.	يَفْلَوْم	يَفَلَوْم	يَتَفَقَّهُم	يَتَفَوَّهُم	يَتَفَقَّاهُم	يَتَفَوَّهُم
Imperat.	صَابَرْ	صَابَرْ	تَصَبَّرْ	تَصَبِّرْ	تَصَابَرْ	تَصَبِّرْ
Part.	فَأَوْم	فُوْم	تَفَوَّم	تَفَقَّهُم	تَفَاقَم	مَفَاقَم
	صَابَرْ	صَابَرْ	تَصَبَّرْ	تَصَبِّرْ	تَصَابَرْ	تَصَبِّرْ
	مَفَاقَم	مَفَاقَم	مَتَفَقَّهُم	مَتَفَوَّهُم	مَتَفَاقَاهُم	مَتَفَوَّهُم
Verb. subst.	فَوَام	صَبَارْ	تَفَوَّم	تَصَبِّرْ	تَفَاقَم	تَصَابَرْ

	IV Form	IV Form	VII Form	VIII Form	X Form
Perf. act.					
Sg. 3. m.	أَقْامَ	أَعْزَارٌ	إِلْفَاقَمْ	إِلْفَاقَمْ	إِنْفَاقَمْ
I.	أَقْمَتْ	أَعْزَرُ	إِنْفَقَتْ	إِنْفَقَتْ	إِنْفَقَتْ
Perf. pass.					
Sg. 3. m.	أَقْمِ	أَصْبَرَ	أَنْفَقِمْ	أَنْفَقِمْ	أَنْفَقِمْ
I.	أَنْفَقَتْ	أَعْزَرُ	أَنْفَقَتْ	أَنْفَقَتْ	أَنْفَقَتْ
Imperf. act.					
pass.	يَقْمِ	يَصْبِرُ	يَنْفَقِمْ	يَنْفَقِمْ	يَنْفَقِمْ
Juss. act.	يَقْمِ	يَصْبِرَ	يَنْفَقِمْ	يَنْفَقِمْ	يَنْفَقِمْ
pass.	يَقْمِ	يَصْبِرَ	يَنْفَقِمْ	يَنْفَقِمْ	يَنْفَقِمْ
Imperat. Sg. m.	أَقْمِ	أَصْبِرْ	إِنْفَقِمْ	إِنْفَقِمْ	إِنْفَقِمْ
f.	أَقْبِي	أَصْبِري	إِنْفَاقِي	إِنْفَاقِي	إِنْفَاقِي
Active part.					
pass.	مَقْمِ	مُصْبِرَ	مَنْفَاقَمْ	مَنْفَاقَمْ	مَنْفَاقَمْ
Verbal subst.	إِقْامَةٌ	إِعْزَارَةٌ	إِنْفَاقَةٌ	إِنْفَاقَةٌ	إِنْفَاقَةٌ

11. III-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (I)					
	Perfect Active			Perf. Passive	
Sg. 3. m.	رَمَى	دَعَاهُ	لَقِيَ	سَرُوَّا	دُعِيَ
3. f.	رَمَثْ	دَعَثُ	لَقِيَثُ	سَرُوَّثُ	دُعِيَتْ
2. m.	رَمِيَّتْ	دَعَوَتْ	لَقِيَتْ	سَرُوَّتْ	دُعِيَّتْ
2. f.	رَمِيَّتْ	دَعَوَتْ	لَقِيَتْ	سَرُوَّتْ	دُعِيَّتْ
1.	رَمِيَّتْ	دَعَوَتْ	لَقِيَتْ	سَرُوَّتْ	دُعِيَّتْ
Du. 3. m.	رَمَيَا	دَعَوَا	لَقِيَا	سَرُوَّا	دُعِيَا
3. f.	رَمَنَا	دَعَنَا	لَقِيَنَا	سَرُوَّنَا	دُعِيَنَا
2.	رَمِيَّنَا	دَعَوَنَا	لَقِيَّنَا	سَرُوَّنَا	دُعِيَّنَا
Pl. 3. m.	رَمَوَا	دَعَوَا	لَقُوا	سَرُوَّا	دُعُوا
3. f.	رَمِيَّنَ	دَعَوَنَ	لَقِيَنَ	سَرُوَّنَ	دُعِيَنَ
2. f.	رَمِيَّمْ	دَعَوَمْ	لَقِيَمْ	سَرُوَّمْ	دُعِيَّمْ
2. f.	رَمِيَّنَ	دَعَوَنَ	لَقِيَنَ	سَرُوَّنَ	دُعِيَّنَ
1.	رَمِيَّنَا	دَعَوَنَا	لَقِيَنَا	سَرُوَّنَا	دُعِيَنَا

		Imperfect Active				Imperf. Pass.
Sg. 3. m.	يَزِمِي	يَذْعُو	يَلْقَى	يَشْرُو	يَذْعِي	
3. f.	تَزِمِي	تَذْعُو	تَلْقَى	تَشْرُو	تَذْعِي	
2. m.	تَزِمِي	تَذْعُو	تَلْقَى	تَشْرُو	تَذْعِي	
2. f.	تَزِمِينَ	تَذْعِينَ	تَلْقِينَ	تَشْرِينَ	تَذْعِينَ	
1.	أَزِي	أَذْعُو	أَلْقَى	أَشْرُو	أَذْعِي	
Du. 3. m.	يَزِمَّانِ	يَذْعَانِ	يَلْقَانِ	يَشْرَانِ	يَذْعَانِ	
3. f.	تَزِمَّانِ	تَذْعَانِ	تَلْقَانِ	تَشْرَانِ	تَذْعَانِ	
2.	تَزِمَّانِ	تَذْعَانِ	تَلْقَانِ	تَشْرَانِ	تَذْعَانِ	
Pl. 3. m.	يَزِمُونَ	يَذْعُونَ	يَلْقَوْنَ	يَشْرُونَ	يَذْعُونَ	
3. f.	تَزِمِينَ	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقِينَ	تَشْرِينَ	تَذْعِينَ	
2. m.	تَزِمُونَ	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقَوْنَ	تَشْرُونَ	تَذْعَونَ	
2. f.	تَزِمِينَ	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقِينَ	تَشْرِينَ	تَذْعِينَ	
1.	تَزِي	تَذْعُو	تَلْقَى	تَشْرُو	تَذْعِي	
		Subjunctive Active				Subj. Pass.
Sg. 3. m.	يَزِمِي	يَذْعُو	يَلْقَى	يَشْرُو	يَذْعِي	
3. f.	تَزِمِي	تَذْعُو	تَلْقَى	تَشْرُو	تَذْعِي	
2. m.	تَزِمِي	تَذْعُو	تَلْقَى	تَشْرُو	تَذْعِي	
2. f.	تَزِي	تَذْعِي	تَلْقِي	تَشْرِي	تَذْعِي	
1.	أَزِي	أَذْعُو	أَلْقَى	أَشْرُو	أَذْعِي	
Du. 3. m.	يَزِمَّا	يَذْعَا	يَلْقَيَا	يَشْرَيَا	يَذْعَانِ	
3. f.	تَزِمَّا	تَذْعَا	تَلْقَيَا	تَشْرَيَا	تَذْعَانِ	
2. f.	تَزِمَّا	تَذْعَا	تَلْقَيَا	تَشْرَيَا	تَذْعَانِ	
Pl. 3. m.	يَزِمُوا	يَذْعُوا	يَلْقَوْنَا	يَشْرُونَا	يَذْعُونَا	
3. f.	تَزِمِينَ	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقِينَ	تَشْرِينَ	تَذْعِينَ	
2. m.	تَزِمُوا	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقَوْنَا	تَشْرُونَا	تَذْعَونَا	
2. f.	تَزِمِينَ	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقِينَ	تَشْرِينَ	تَذْعِينَ	
1.	تَزِي	تَذْعُو	تَلْقَى	تَشْرُو	تَذْعِي	

Paradigms

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	Jussive Active			Juss. Pass.
Sg. 3. m.	يَزْعِمُ	يَذْعُمُ	يَلْقَأُ	يُذْعَمُ
3. f.	تَزْعِمُ	تَذْعُمُ	تَلْقَى	تُذْعَمُ
2. m.	تَزْعِمُ	تَذْعُمُ	تَلْقَى	تُذْعَمُ
2. f.	تَزْعِمِي	تَذْعِمِي	تَلْقَفِي	تُذْعَمِي
1.	أَزْعَمُ	أَذْعَمُ	الْقَوْ	أُذْعَمُ
Du. 3. m.	يَرْبِّيَا	يَدْعُوا	يَلْقِيَا	يُذْعِيَا
3. f.	تَرْبِيَا	تَدْعُوا	تَلْقِيَا	تُذْعِيَا
2.	تَرْبِيَا	تَدْعُوا	تَلْقِيَا	تُذْعِيَا
Pl. 3. m.	يَرْبِّوَا	يَدْعُوَا	يَلْقِوَا	يُذْعِوَا
3. f.	تَرْبِيَنَ	تَدْعُوَنَ	تَلْقِيَنَ	تُذْعِيَنَ
2. m.	تَرْبُوَا	تَدْعُوَا	تَلْقُوا	تُذْعُوَا
2.	تَرْبِيَنَ	تَدْعُوَنَ	تَلْقِيَنَ	تُذْعِيَنَ
1.	تَرْبَمُ	تَدْعَمُ	تَلَقَّ	تُذَعَّمُ

	Energetic I Active			Energ. I Pass.
Sg. 3. m.	يَرْبِّيَنَ	يَذْعُونَ	يَلْقَيَنَ	يُذْعِيَنَ
3. f.	تَرْبِيَنَ	تَذْعُونَ	تَلْقَيَنَ	تُذْعِيَنَ
2. f.	تَرْبِيَنَ	تَذْعَنَ	تَلْقَيَنَ	تُذْعِيَنَ
Du. 3. m.	يَرْبِّيَانَ	يَذْعَوَانَ	يَلْقَيَانَ	يُذْعِيَانَ
Pl. 3. m.	يَرْبِّيَنَ	يَذْعَنَ	يَلْقَيَنَ	يُذْعِيَنَ
3. f.	يَرْبِّيَنَ	يَذْعُونَانَ	يَلْقَيَنَانَ	يُذْعِيَنَانَ

	Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Form VI
Perf. act.					
Sg. 3. m.	لَقَى	لَاقَ	لَقَى	لَقَى	لَاقِي
1.	لَقِيْتُ	لَقِيْتُ	لَقِيْتُ	لَقِيْتُ	لَاقِيْتُ
Perf. pass.	لَقِيْتُ	لُوقَى	لَقِيْتُ	لُوقَى	لُوقَى
Imperf. act.					
pass.	يَلَقَّى	يَلَاقِي	يَلَقَّى	يَلَقَّى	يَلَاقِي
Subj. act.	يَلَقَّى	يَلَاقِي	يَلَقَّى	يَلَقَّى	يَلَاقِي
Juss. act.	يَلَقَّ	يَلَاقِ	يَلَقَّ	يَلَقَّ	يَلَاقِ
pass.	يَلَقَّ	يَلَاقِ	يَلَقَّ	يَلَقَّ	يَلَاقِ
Active part.	مُلَاقٌ	مَلَاقٍ	مُلَاقٌ	مُلَاقٌ	مُلَاقٌ
pass.	مُلَقَّى	مَلَقَى	مُلَقَّى	مُلَقَّى	مُلَقَّى
Imperat.	لَقُ	لَاقِ	لَقُ	لَقُ	لَاقِ
Verbal subst.	لَاقِيَةً	لَاقِاً	لَاقِاً	لَاقِاً	لَاقِاً
	Form VII	Form VIII	Form IX	Form X	
Perf. act.					
Sg. 3. m.	إِلْتَقَى	إِلْتَقَى	إِلْغَوَى	إِلْغَوَى	إِسْتَلْقَى
1.	إِلْتَقِيْتُ	إِلْتَقِيْتُ	إِلْغَوِيْتُ	إِلْغَوِيْتُ	إِسْتَلْقِيْتُ
Imperf. act.					
pass.	يَلْتَقِي	يَلْتَقِي	يَرْغَوِي	يَرْغَوِي	يَسْتَلْقِي
Subj. act.	يَلْتَقِي	يَلْتَقِي	يَرْغَوِي	يَرْغَوِي	يَسْتَلْقِي
Juss. act.	يَلْتَقُ	يَلْتَقُ	يَرْغَوُ	يَرْغَوُ	يَسْتَلْقُ
pass.	يَلْتَقُ	يَلْتَقُ	يَرْغَوُ	يَرْغَوُ	يَسْتَلْقُ
Active part.	مُلَقَّوٌ	مَلَقَوٍ	مُرْغَوٌ	مُرْغَوٌ	مُسْتَلْقٌ
pass.	مُلَقَّفٌ	مَلَقَفٍ	مُرْغَفٌ	مُرْغَفٌ	مُسْتَلْفٌ
Imperat.	إِلْتَقِ	إِلْتَقِ	إِلْغَوِ	إِلْغَوِ	إِسْتَلْقِ
Verbal subst.	إِلْتَقَاءً	إِلْتَقَاءً	إِلْغَوَاءً	إِلْغَوَاءً	إِسْتَلْقَاءً

Imperative							
Sg. m.	ازم	أذْعُ	أذْقَ	أذْقِنَ			
f.	ازبِي	أذْعِي	أذْقِي	أذْقِنِي			
Du.	ازبِنَا	أذْعُونَا	أذْقَنَا	أذْقِنَا			
Pl. m.	ازبُوا	أذْعُوا	أذْقَوا	أذْقِوا			
f.	ازبِينَ	أذْعِنَوْنَ	أذْقِنَوْنَ	أذْقِنِنَ			
Participle							
Sg. m.	Active				Passive		
	زام	ذاع	لaci	مزجي	مدْعُوٌّ	مدْعُوَةٌ	ملقيٌّ
f.	زامية	داعية	لاقية	مزوية	مدْعُوَةٌ	ملفية	ملفية

12. I-w – III-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (I)						
	Active			Passive		
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
Sg. 3. m.	وَقَى	يَنْفِي	يَنْفِ	وَقَى	يُوْقَى	يُوْقَى
3. f.	وَقَتْ	تَنْفِي	تَنْفِ	وَفَيْتْ	تُوْقَى	تُوْقَى
2. m.	وَقَيْتْ	تَنْفِي	تَنْفِ	وَفَيْتْ	تُوْقَى	تُوْقَى
2. f.	وَقَيْتْ	تَنْفِيَنْ	تَنْفِيَنْ	وَفَيْتْ	تُوْقِيَنْ	تُقَيْنِي
1.	وَقَيْتْ	أَنْفِي	أَنْفِ	وَفَيْتْ	أَلوَقَى	أَوْقَى
Du. 3. m.	وَقَيْتَا	يَنْفِيَنْ	يَنْفِيَنْ	وَفَيْتَا	يُوْقَيَانِ	يُوْقَيَا
3. f.	وَقَيْتَا	تَنْفِيَنْ	تَنْفِيَنْ	وَفَيْتَا	تُوْقَيَانِ	تُوْقَيَا
2.	وَقَيْتَمَا	تَنْفِيَنْ	تَنْفِيَنْ	وَفَيْتَمَا	تُوْقَيَانِ	تُوْقَيَا
Pl. 3. m.	وَقَوْا	يَنْفُونَ	يَنْفُو	وَفُوْوا	يُوْقُونَ	يُوْقُوا
3. f.	وَقَيْنَ	يَنْفِنَ	يَنْفِنَ	وَفِيَنَ	يُوْقِنَ	يُوْقَنَ
2. m.	وَقَيْمَ	تَنْفُونَ	تَنْفُو	وَفِيَمَ	تُوْقُونَ	تُوْقَوَا
2. f.	وَقَيْنَ	تَنْفِنَ	تَنْفِنَ	وَفِيَنَ	تُوْقِنَ	تُوْقَنَ
1.	وَقَيْنَا	نَفِي	نَفِ	وَفِيَنَا	نُوقَى	نُوقَى
Imperative Sg. m. فُوْ فَوَا Pl. m. فَنَا Du. فِي فَوَا						
Act. part. Sg. m. مَوْفِيَةً f. مَوْفِيَّةً f. وَافِيَةً f. وَافِيَّةً f.						
Pass. part. Sg. m. مَوْفَقَى f. مَوْفَقَيَةً f. وَفَقَى f. وَفَقَيَةً f.						

13. II-ي - III-Weak Verbs

Basic Stem (Active)			
	Perfect	Imperfect	Jussive
Sg. 3. m.	حَيَ / حَيٌّ	يَحْيِي / يَحْيِي	يَحْيِي
Sg. m.	حَيَّلَتْ / حَيَّثْ	تَحْيِيَا / تَحْيِي	تَحْيِي
2. m.	حَيَّلَتْ	تَحْيِيَا / تَحْيِي	تَحْيِي
2. f.	حَيَّلَتْ	تَحْيِيَنْ / تَحْيِيَنْ	تَحْيِي / تَحْيِي
1.	حَيَّلَتْ	أَخْيَا / أَخْيُّ	أَخْيَ
Du. 3. m.	حَيَّنَا / حَيَّا	يَحْيِيَانْ	يَحْيِيَا
3. f.	حَيَّنَتَا / حَيَّنَا	تَحْيِيَانْ	تَحْيِيَا
2.	حَيَّنَتَا	تَحْيِيَانْ	تَحْيِيَا
Pl. 3. m.	حَيَّوْا / حَيَّوْا	يَحْيِيُونَ / يَحْيِيُونَ	يَحْيِيُوا / يَحْيِيُوا
3. f.	حَيَّنَ	تَحْيِيَنْ	تَحْيِيَنْ
2. m.	حَيَّنَمْ	تَحْيِيُونَ / تَحْيِيُونَ	تَحْيِيُوا / تَحْيِيُوا
2. f.	حَيَّنَنْ	تَحْيِيَنْ	تَحْيِيَنْ
1.	حَيَّنَا	تَحْيِيَا / تَحْيِي	تَحْيِي
Participle Sg. m. f. حَيَّةُ			
Imperat. Sg. m. Pl. m. Du. إِخْيَا. إِخْيَنْ. f. إِخْيَنْ. f. إِخْيَنْ. f. إِخْيَنْ. f.			

14. 4-Radical Verbs

Active				
	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV
Perf.	آخرِظَمْ	يُخْرِظَمْ	أَخْرَظَنَمْ	أَخْرَظَمْ
Imperf.	يُخْرِطُمْ	يَتَخْرِطُمْ	يُخْرِظُمْ	يُخْرِطُمْ
Juss.	يُخْرِطُمْ	يَتَخْرِطُمْ	يُخْرِظُمْ	يُخْرِظِيمْ / يُخْرِطِيمْ / يُخْرِطَمْ
Imperat.	خُرِطْمْ	تَخْرِطْمْ	أَخْرَظْنَمْ	أَخْرَظِيمْ / أَخْرَطِيمْ / أَخْرَطَمْ
Part.	خُرِطَمْ	مُتَخْرِطْمَ	مُخْرِظَمْ	خُرِطَمْ
Verb. subst.	خُرِطَةَ	تَخْرِطَةَ	أَخْرَظَلَامْ	أَخْرَظَلَامْ

Form IV (Active)			
	Perf.	Imperf.	Juss.
Sg. 3. m.	أَخْرَظَمْ	يُخْرِطَمْ	يُخْرِظِيمْ / يُخْرِطِيمْ / يُخْرِطَمْ
1.	أَخْرَظَمْفَتْ	أَخْرَطَمْ	أَخْرَظِيمْ / أَخْرَطِيمْ / أَخْرَطَمْ
Pl. 3. m.	أَخْرَظَمُوا	يُخْرِطَمُونَ	يُخْرِطِمُوا
3. f.	أَخْرَظَمْفَنْ	يُخْرِظَمْفَنْ	يُخْرِظِيمْفَنْ

Passive				
	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV
Perf.	خُرِطَمْ	خُرِطَمْ	أَخْرَظَنَمْ	أَخْرَطَمْ
Imperf.	يُخْرِطَمْ	يَتَخْرِطَمْ	يُخْرِظَنَمْ	يُخْرِطَمْ
Juss.	يُخْرِطَمْ	يَتَخْرِطَمْ	يُخْرِظَنَمْ	يُخْرِظِيمْ / يُخْرِطِيمْ / يُخْرِطَمْ
Part.	خُرِطَمْ	مُتَخْرِطَمْ	مُخْرِظَنَمْ	خُرِطَمْ

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Journal Abbreviations

AIEO	Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales (Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Alger)
ArOr	Archiv Orientální (Československá Akademie věd: Orientální – Ústřstav, Praha)
BEO	Bulletin d'Études Orientales (Institut Français de Damas)
BFA	Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Cairo – Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven/Ann Arbor
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester
MMAD	Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī bi-Dimashq (Revue de l'Academie Arab, Damas)
MMLA	Majallat Majma‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah, al-Qāhirah
MO	Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig/Berlin
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Roma
SI	Studia Islamica, Paris
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, Berlin
ZAL	Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik, Wiesbaden
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig/Wiesbaden
ZS	Zeitschrift für Semitistik, Leipzig

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